

THE
WORKS

OF

Walter Moyle Esq;

None of which were ever
before Publish'd.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N,

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E. SYMON: M.DCC.XXVI.

REMARKS

Upon some Passages in

Dr. Prideaux's Connection

OF THE

Old and New Testament :

In several LETTERS between

Mr. Moyle and Dr. Prideaux.

VOL. II.

A

REMARKS

ON THE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE

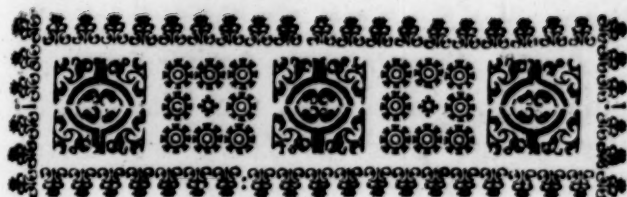
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REMARKS

UPON

Dr. Prideaux's Connection.

Part I. Book I. Page 9. 8vo.

LETTER I.

S I R,



YOU say that “ all the Traffick
“ which the *Western* Parts of
“ the World, from that time
“ (when the *PTOLOMEYS* pre-
“ vail'd in *Egypt*) had with *Persia*, *In-*
“ *dia*, *Arabia*, and the *Eastern* Coasts of

A 2

“ *Africa*,

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“ *Africa*, was wholly carry’d on thro’
 “ the *Red-Sea*, and the Mouth of the
 “ *Nile*.” But your own Author STRABO
 only says, *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*, that the greatest
 Part of the Trade of *India* was driven
 by the way of *Alexandria*. But * A P-
 PIAN expressly contradicts you; for he
 makes *Palmyra* a celebrated Mart for the
Indian and *Arabian* Commodities, which
 the Merchants of that City brought from
Persia, and afterwards sold to the Ro-
 mans. *Palmyra*, by the Advantage of its
 Situation near the *Euphrates*, lay very
 conveniently for ingrossing the greatest
 Part of the Trade of *India*, which was
 carry’d on over Land by the way of *Per-
 sia*; and we are assur’d by † A. MAR-
 CELLINUS, that *Batue*, a Town of *Au-
 themisia* in the North of *Mesopotamia*,
 near the *Euphrates*, was a noted Mart for
 the same Traffick, there being held every
 Year a Fair, to which there was a vast
 Resort to buy up Commodities brought
 from the *Indians* and the *Seres*. As for

* De Bell. Civil. v. p. 676. Ed. Steph.

† Lib. xiv. c. 3.

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the Trade with the *Seres*, we know from the same * Author 'twas carry'd on by the Merchants over-land, who travell'd from *Persia* to that Country, thro the Territories of the *Sacæ*; and whatever *Indian* Commodities came by Sea to either of these Places, 'tis plain they must be brought by the way of the *Persian* Gulph, and so up the *Euphrates*; and not from the *Red-Sea*, which lay too far off. 'Tis true, a great Trade with *India* was driven by the way of the *Red-Sea* and *Alexandria*, as appears not only from STRABO, but from † PLINY, who has set down the Rout the Merchants took over-land from *Alexandria* to *Berenice*, and from thence by Sea to the Coast of *Malabar*. He adds, that the prime Cost of *Indian* Goods, imported every Year into the *Roman* Empire, amounted to above 400,000 Pounds: And the same Author ‡ affirms, that the Empire lost every Year by their Trade with *India*, *Arabia*,

* Lib. xxiii. c. 6. p. 292. Ed. Gronov.

† Lib. vi. c. 23. p. 703. Ed. Harduin.

‡ L. xii. 18.

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and the *Jews*, above 800,000 Pounds. From which Passage, compar'd with the former, it appears that the *Romans* drove as great a Trade with the *Seres* and *Arabia*, as with *India*, *Tanto nobis deliciae & feminae constant.* * *TACITUS* makes the same Complaint. Now, if 800,000 Pounds *per Ann.* were too great a Drain for the *Roman Empire* to bear—

I am, &c.

Part I. Book IV. Page 211.

Of ZOROASTRES.

LETTER II.

S I R,

THE Account of ZOROASTRES is so entertaining, and so extremely well told, that I have all the Inclination in the World to believe it true : But there

* Ann. iii. 53.

are

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are some Circumstances in it so inconsistent with the Relations of all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, that they give one very just ground to question the Credit of the whole Story. 'Tis certain that the general Current of the old Writers places ZOROASTRES much earlier than the Reign of DARIUS HYSTASPES, as you may find in all the modern Collectors who have treated of that Subject. I will not enter into the Controversy, whether there was only one of that Name, as you suppose, or more; nor will I pretend to determine the Age of ZOROASTRES, the Founder of the *Persian* Religion, because I think it impossible, among such Variety of Opinions and Contradictions, to make any probable guess of the Truth. 'Tis sufficient for my purpose, if I can prove him more antient than the Period you have plac'd him at. For this I need not produce you a long List of the antient Historians; for they are all collected to my hand by MARSHAM, STANLEY, A. FABRICIUS, HUETIUS, &c. One Author indeed you wou'd rob me of, JUSTIN, by correcting him from DIODORUS SI-

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CULUS : But the reverse of this is true, and DIODORUS ought to be corrected by JUSTIN, as appears from a Passage of * ARNOBIUS, as 'tis read, and distinguish'd by either STANLEY, MARSHAM, or HERALDUS : that CTESIAS calls this *Bactrian* King, not OXYARTES, but ZOROASTRES ; and consequently the genuine Reading in DIODORUS, who professes to follow him in his whole Relation of that War, was ZOROASTRES.

THE only antient Writer that seems to favour your Opinion, is AGATHIAS, who liv'd 1100 Years after, who makes ZOROASTRES contemporary with DARIUS HYSTASPES, as the *Persians*, in his Age, gave out, in general, but at the same time, that 'twas impossible to know whether he was the Father of DARIUS or not ; and if the Fact was then doubtful, I wou'd fain know how after Ages came by a better Information : And 'tis remarkable, that none of the Eastern Authors you have

* Lib. i. p. 31. compar'd with p. 5. Edit. Lugdun.

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cited are above 600 Years standing ; nor does the MIRCONDE, call'd TEXEIRA, the most celebrated of all the Eastern Historians, make mention of it in his Annals. * A. MARCELLINUS does indeed say he was the Father of DARIUS, but 'tis plain to every one who attentively considers the whole Period, that he places HYSTASPES long after the Age of ZOROASTRES, and † LACTANTIUS sets him higher than the *Trojan* War. So that no manner of stress can be laid on this Argument.

‡ APULEIUS is another Author you produce to prove ZOROASTRES Contemporary with PYTHAGORAS. But you have intirely destroy'd the Credit of his Relation, by one Chronological Argument : To which I may add, that APULEIUS, in the very next Period, contradicts this Account himself ; for he says, 'twas the prevailing Opinion that PYTHAGORAS came voluntarily into *Egypt*, and

* Lib. xxiii. c. 6.

† Instit. vii. 15.

‡ Florid. 501. Edit. Lugdun.

there

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there instructed himself in all the Learning of the *Egyptian* Priests, without mentioning a word of his conversing with ZOROASTRES, whom 'tis plain from his * Apology he thought many Ages elder than PYTHAGORAS, because he makes him more antient than MOSES: which Passage, by the way, he copy'd from † PLINY, as HARDUIN very rightly observes. And indeed, on a Supposition that he was Contemporary with NINUS, and that the *Assyrian* Monarchy lasted 1400 Years, according to ‡ DIODORUS, or 1300 according to ** TROGUS, his Age must be carry'd some Centuries higher than MOSES. Nor can this Account, as you suppose, agree with NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S Conquest of *Egypt*; for from that time to the Death of your ZOROASTRES (as appears by your own Reckoning) there had pass'd 85 Years: and, allowing ZOROASTRES to have been 90 Years old at the time of his Death, which, by the way, was not a natural but a violent one,

* P. 319.

† Lib. xxx. c. 1.

‡ Lib. ii. p. 115. Ed. Hanov.

** i. 3.

he

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 11

he cou'd have been but five Years old ; and allowing JAMBlichus's Account of PYTHAGORAS's twelve Years Residence at *Babylon*, he cou'd have been but seventeen when PYTHAGORAS left that Place ; and at that Age he was certainly too young to set up for a Doctor. But supposing PYTHAGORAS, for once, to have been at *Babylon* in NEBUCHADNEZZAR's time, or even later if you please, twenty Years before CAMBYSES's Conquest of *Egypt* ; which is the lowest Period, as you own, that can be allow'd for his Travels, and which was before *Babylon* was taken by CYRUS ; I deny that he cou'd have seen any of the *Persians* and *Magians* at *Babylon* ; for that Sect spread only with the Arms and Empire of the *Persians*, and into * *India*. And 'tis a Jest to suppose that any of the *Persian* Priests wou'd settle, or be allow'd to settle, at *Babylon*, the head Quarters of *Sabianism* ; for which, as you say, † *they had the utmost Detestation, and hated the Babylonians*

* *Connect.* Part I. Book III. p. 179.

† *Book IV.* p. 241.

above

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above all others of that Sect. And if PYTHAGORAS cou'd have been instructed in the Learning of the MAGI there, he need not have been at the Pains to travel into *Persia* upon that Errand, as * CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and † PLINY assure us he did.

THE ZABRATUS of ‡ PORPHYRY, the ZARATUS of ** CLEMENS, of †† PLUTARCH. and JAMBlichus, and the ZARAN of †† CYRIL, I agree to be all one, but deny that either of them is ZOROASTRES. To begin with PORPHYRY, if by ZABRATUS he meant ZOROASTRES, why had he not call'd him ZOROASTRES, as he has done in his Book, *** *De Antro Nympharum*? And that very Passage has a Character of Time in it which will fix the Age of ZOROASTRES many Ages before DARIUS HYSTASPES: For he says, ZOROASTRES consecrated a Grotto to the Worship of

* Strom. i. p. 357. Ed. Potter.

† xxx. I.

‡ In Pythagora, p. 185. Ed. Cantab.

** Ibid.

†† De Gen. animæ in Timæo, p. 1862. Ed. Steph.

‡‡ Contra Julian. p. 133. Ed. Spanhem. *** P. 254.

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his God MITHRA, and gave the first rise of that Custom to other Nations. Now there are Examples enough of Grots and Caves consecrated to Nymphs, and other Gods, to be met with in History as high as the *Trojan War*, as appears from the Verses of HOMER, which are the Subject of that Discourse. To say nothing of JUPITER'S Grotto, frequented by * MINOS, wth many others mention'd by STRABO, PAUSANIAS, &c. long before the Reign of that Prince. In the next place, PORPHYRY plainly makes ZABRATUS a *Chaldean*, as HOLSTENIUS has rightly remark'd; that is, a Philosopher of that Sect, as the following Words plainly show: And consequently he cou'd not mean ZOROASTRES, who was a *Magian*. Some Writers have indeed confounded these two Sects, as CELSUS; but he is very justly laugh'd at for his Pains by † ORIGEN. CLEMENS and CYRIL make him an *Assyrian*, that is by Birth, tho a *Chal-*

* Strab. x. p. 481. Ed. Casaub. Dion. Hal. l. ii. p. 91. Ed. Steph.

† Contra Celsum, i. p. 45. Ed. Cantab.

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dean by Profession. * PLINY mentions ZARATUS, one of the Successors of ZOROASTRES: but he must be different from the ZARATUS of CLEMENT, &c. because he makes him a *Mede*, and a *Magian*. But this Passage however, plainly proves that ZARATUS and ZOROASTRES are Names of different Persons, and not different Names for the same Person. I am sensible I have dwelt too long on an Argument which you your self lay little stress on, and seem to give up: But before I part with this Subject, give me leave to observe one great Inconsistency which you have been guilty of in this Relation. You say, † *that* PYTHAGORAS took the hint of retiring to a Grotto, &c. from his Master ZOROASTRES: But since, by your Reckoning, ZOROASTRES had not set up for a Prophet, nor retir'd to his Cave till the Reign of DARIUS HYSTASPES, and PYTHAGORAS was return'd from his Travels above twenty Years before CAMBYSES's Conquest of *Egypt*, how was it possible for PYTHAGORAS to

* xxx. 1.

† Part I. Book IV. p. 220.

follow

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follow his Example in an Affair which happen'd so many Years after his own Retirement into the Cave; and which, had it been earlier, 'twas impossible, at that distance, he shou'd ever have heard of? His Notion of the Immortality of the Soul, he might as well learn from his Master PHERECYDES, who first advanc'd that Doctrine, according to CICERO and others*. But as for his *Metempsychosis*, I own he might borrow it from the *Brachmans*, or even the *Magians*, who all believ'd that Doctrine, if your own Author, † PORPHYRY, is to be credited.

THE current of all Antiquity being against you, as to the Age of ZOROASTRES, the Credit of this whole Relation must rest on the Authority of the *Eastern* Writers. There is no need to repeat what I have said on this head, in the Article of AGATHIAS; for sure no Man of Judgment will set the Credit of such late

* Vid. Menag. ad Laertium, i. § 116.

† De abstinentia, iv. 145.

and

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and lying Writers in competition with Authors of such establish'd Reputation as the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians. For a Specimen of the Sincerity and Accuracy of the *Eastern* Writers, I appeal to the fam'd Historian of *Persia*, MIRCONDE, whose Account of the Reign of DARIUS contains as many Lyes as Lines. There is not one Truth told in all the Relation ; but the whole, from the beginning to the end, is a senseless Rhapsody of ill-invented Fables and ridiculous Absurdities. In a word, he is the most scandalous Writer I ever dipt into ; for I never had the Patience to go thro' with him. His Character has given me a taste of the rest, and how little their Authority is to be depended on for the Truth of any antient Fact. * HUETIUS says, the modern *Persians* make ZOROASTRES contemporary with ABRAHAM.

* P. 89.

IN the next place, I shall examine some other Circumstances of this Relation, which were either unknown, or contradicted by the old *Greek* and *Roman* Writers: And I shall begin with the great Alteration made by ZOROASTRES in the National Religion of *Persia* under DARIUS HYSTASPES. Of this the Antients were all silent to a Man which is a good Proof of its Falshood. Is it possible to imagine, that so memorable an Event cou'd have been past over in silence by so many diligent Historians, had they known it? or is it likely that a Fact, which must make so much Noise in the World, cou'd escape their Inquiry? Will any one believe that HERODOTUS, who pass'd over so many *Persian* Provinces to collect Materials for his History, cou'd have miss'd it in all his Travels? Or that CTESIAs, who resided so many Years in the *Persian* Court, cou'd be ignorant of a Fact which every Porter in *Persia* must know? 'Tis strange that XENOPHON, who convers'd with the younger CYRUS, and march'd with an Army into the heart of the *Persian* Em-

pire, cou'd give his Countrymen no better Information at his return. But what is strangest of all, how came it about that OSTANES, who attended XERXES in his Expedition against *Greece* but twelve Years after, and set the *Greeks* a madding after Magick, shou'd acquaint none of his Followers with the Original of his Sect, or the Age of its Founder? These are all strong Presumptions against this Story: To which I shall add the Authority of XENOPHON*, who affirms that the Regulations made by CYRUS in the Religious Worship, continu'd without any Alteration down to his time: and in the close of that Work, tho he has given a large Account of the corruption of their Morals, and military Discipline, of the neglect of their Education, with their total Degeneracy from the Virtue of their Ancestors; yet he does not add one word of any Change in their National Worship, or the Principles of their Theology, which his Subject gave him a fair occasion of doing, had there been any such thing.

* *Cyropædia*, viii. p. 121. Ed. Stephani.

THE principal Changes made by ZOROASTRES, in the Institution of his new Religion, were, the building of Temples, which the *Persians* wanted before, and the introducing a God superior to the two Principles believ'd before. As to the first, I shan't argue against it, as I did in the former Article, from the silence of the old Writers, but from express Authorities against you; and begin with *HERODOTUS, a *Persian* Governor and Soldier, who directly affirms, that the *Persians* of his Age (for he speaks in the present Tense) had no Temples. † DINON, who flourish'd after the time of ALEXANDER, says, the *Persians* sacrific'd in the open Air, which shews they had no Temples; and ‡ CICERO says, that XERXES, by the Instigation of the *Magians*, set fire to the Temples in *Greece*, upon this Principle, that the Universe was the Temple of the Gods, who ought to be at large and unconfin'd, and not coop'd up in Walls. CICERO has given the true Reason for

* L. i. p. 35.

† Apud Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 56.

‡ De Leg. ii. 10.

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the Averſion the *Persians* bore to Temples, which did not proceed, as you ſuppoſe *, from an Abhorrence of worſhipping the Gods by Images ; for they were as arrant *Polytheiſts* and Idolaters as any of their † Neighbours. 'Tis true, they abſtain'd from the uſe of Images, from that Perſuaſion. And HERODOTUS's Reaſon, rightly underſtood, is the ſame with CICERO's. Theſe Authorities do fully prove what I contend for, that the *Persians* had no Temples long after the Reign of DARIUS : And the earlieſt Account we have of any Temples among them, is under TIBERIUS, many Ages after. And the Conjecture of LE CLERC and STANLEY, is very probable, that 'twas an Innovation in their Worſhip, by their Commerce with their Maſters the *Macedonians*.

THE moſt valuable part of ZOROASTRES's System, viz. his ſetting up a third Principle, ſuperior to the two old ones, is contradicted by all the old Writers. STANLEY's Citation from the Wri-

* P. 240.

† Clem. Alex. p. 56, 7.

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 21

tings of ZOROASTRES, which you and every body else allow to be spurious, can be of no Weight ; and PLUTARCH'S Account of his believing two independent Gods, with a middle one between them, does not agree with your Hypothesis. ARISTOTLE, HERMIPPUS, EUDOXUS, *THEOPOMPUS, make him hold two Principles only, the Good and the Bad one : And AGATHIAS long after, affirms the same of the *Persians* in his Age, and adds, as you likewise † assert, that the *Manichees* borrow'd the great Article of their Herefy from this Doctrine. And from these all put together, it seems very plain that this Refinement of the *Persian* Theology was of a much later Date than you suppose. I am, &c.

* Apud Laertium in Proæm.

† P. 179.

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Part I. Book V. p. 305, 6.

LETTER III.

S I R,

WHATEVER becomes of ISAAC VOSSIUS's Correction of JOSEPHUS, *lib. xi c. 7*. I can't help thinking that the Passage is corrupted; for *σεατηγος* τὸ λαὸν Ἀρταξέρξου is not *Greek*, but a mere *Hebraism*. 'Tis true, we often meet with *λαὸς* for *σεατὸς* in the Septuagint, which is a literal Translation; but 'tis not likely that so elegant a Writer as JOSEPHUS would use such a barbarous Phrase. I believe it shou'd be read ὁ σεατηγος τὸ ὄχλον Ἀρταξέρξου. I took the hint of this Correction from SCALIGER's *συναγωγή ἰσοειῶν*, (*p. 379.*) which, as he owns (*p. 431.*) was a Collection of his own making, partly out of printed Books, and partly out of Manuscripts. He there reads it ὁ σεατηγος τὸ ὄχλον, &c. I make no doubt but he found ὄχλον in some Manuscript of JOSEPHUS; for otherwise he never wou'd have set down a Word which has no meaning

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ing in it : The change of one Letter makes it $\omega\chi$ ^s, which I believe is the true Reading. BAGOSES is BAGOAS, who was the prime Favourite, and chief General to OCHUS, under whose Reign all this Affair was transacted. Bishop * USHER has an Argument which has started an Objection against my Hypothesis ; but his Argument is all founded on a mistaken Supposition, that JOHANAN, the Son of ELIASHIB, mention'd by † EZRA, in the seventh Year of ARTAXEREXES LONGIMANUS, was the same JOHANAN who was afterwards High-Priest. But 'tis plain from ‡ JOSEPHUS, the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, and ** NEHEMIAH, that JOHANAN, or JONATHAN the High-Priest, was not the Son of ELIASHIB, but of JOIADA, as you have rightly observ'd ; which intirely destroys the Bishop's Conjecture. You have been a little too severe in your Censure of JOSEPHUS, as if he had been ignorant of the Succession of the *Persian* Kings : For it ought to be consider'd, that his principal Business was

* Ad Ann. P. Jul. 4312.

† C. x. 6.

‡ Lib. xi. c. 7.

** C. xii. 11.

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to write the History of his own Nation, nor was he oblig'd by the Rules of History to mention the Affairs of *Persia* any farther than they were intermix'd with the Affairs of the *Jews* : And if he has given an Account of the first six Kings of *Persia*, 'twas because they had all distinguish'd themselves by Acts of Favour or Severity to the *Jews*, and on that account had a Right to be mention'd : And if he has pass'd over any of their Successors in silence, 'twas because nothing of note that related to *Judea* was transacted in their times till the Reign of OCHUS, whom I think he has mention'd, as well as DARIUS CODOMANNUS ; because in his Reign the *Jews* chang'd their Masters, and became subject to the *Macedonians* ; which was an Event that nearly concern'd his own Nation, and ought not to be omitted. This is a very probable Account why JOSEPHUS has omitted, in his History, some of the *Persian* Kings ; but 'tis not possible to conceive that an Author so conversant in the *Greek* Writers cou'd be ignorant of the Series of the *Persian* Kings. EPHORUS, whom he has so often cited, and who concludes his History about the
end

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 25

end of OCHUS, might have amply instructed him in the *Persian* History.

ANOTHER Proof in favour of this Opinion may be drawn from the Argument of this Chapter, which calls this ARTAXERXES, ARTAXERXES the younger, that is OCHUS. This plainly shews that my Correction was the original Reading of the Manuscripts ; for except this single Passage, there is nothing else in the whole Chapter which can give the Reader any light what ARTAXERXES is meant. As for the Arguments of the Chapters, if they were not compos'd by JOSEPHUS himself, yet 'tis certain that they are of an antient Date, because they are found in most of the Manuscripts ; as appears from the various Readings in Dr. BERNARD's unfinish'd Edition of JOSEPHUS.

I am, Sir, &c.

Part

Part I. Book VII. Page 486.

LETTER IV.

S I R,

I SHALL next consider that celebrated Story in JOSEPHUS, of ALEXANDER's coming to *Jerusalem*, &c. as 'tis set down in all its Circumstances by * JOSEPHUS. I am not ignorant that some later Writers vary in some Particulars, and that EUSEBIUS has very dextrously given it a more plausible Air: But since JOSEPHUS is the original Author from whom they all borrow'd their Accounts, I shall examine it upon the foot he has deliver'd it down to us.

A. FABRICIUS, in his *Greek* † *Bibliothèque*, seems to suspect the Credit of this Relation, and to give it up to the Arguments of VANDALE, (in his *Reflections on the History of the Seventy*) to prove it inconsistent with the Accounts

* Antiq. Jud. xi. 8.

† Vol. ii. p. 206.

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 27

of all the old Historians. I never read this Book of *VANDALE*, nor ever heard of one of his Arguments; but I shall give you my Reasons why I am of his Opinion.

IN the first place, I shall urge the silence of all the old Historians who are now extant: And as for those who are lost, 'tis plain they never made any mention of it, because *JOSEPHUS* has not produc'd their Testimonies, which he never fails to do upon all other Occasions.

JOSEPHUS says that *ALEXANDER* march'd to *Jerusalem* after the taking of *Gaza*; but you have very plainly prov'd that he march'd from *Gaza* directly into *Egypt*: and what is much stranger, * *ARRIAN* expressly affirms, that all *Palestine*, except *Gaza*, had submitted to him before he began the Siege of that City; and consequently he had no need to march with his Army into *Judea*, in order to reduce it to his Obedience. This single Argument is enough to shake the

* Lib. ii. p. 150. *Connect.* Part I. Book VII. p. 486.

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Credit of this whole Relation. EUSEBIUS, who was aware of this Absurdity, makes him march from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*: But since his Author, JOSEPHUS, was ignorant of this Circumstance, I wish he had produc'd his Voucher, and told us how he came by a better light so many Ages after. The Passage of EUSEBIUS, as it now stands in SCALIGER's Edition, is corrupt and unintelligible, without the help of a Correction. I suppose it shou'd be thus read, *Alexander capta Tyro Judæam invadit, atque favorabiliter exceptus, &c.* But this Salvo of EUSEBIUS mends the matter very little; for not only JOSEPHUS, but all the old Historians, bring ALEXANDER directly from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, without making any halt by the way. As for Bishop USHER's Quotation out of * PLINY, *Alexandro magno res ibi gerente*, that is, ALEXANDER making war in those Parts, (for *ibi* in that place, needs not be restrain'd to *Jericho* only) I don't doubt but it either relates to the Siege of *Tyre*, or *Gaza*, which was a City of *Palestine*. It can never be meant

* Nat. Hist. xii. 25.

Dr. Prideaux's *Connection*. 29

of *Jericho*; for we know not only from *ARRIAN*, but *JOSEPHUS* himself, that the *Jews* submitted without striking a Stroke. And I need not tell you that *res gerere* signifies to wage War. *PLINY* has us'd the like Phrase in the same * Book, and † elsewhere; and not once in any other Sense ‡. I do not know whether it be worth while to observe, that the barbarous Author of the *Excerpta Chronologica*, publish'd by *SCALIGER* after *EUSEBIUS*'s Chronicle **, places this Journey of *ALEXANDER* to *Jerusalem*, after his return from *Egypt*: and †† *S. SEVERUS* seems to intimate, that 'twas after all his Conquests were finish'd: which shews how uncertain they were of this matter.

LESS to the purpose is his Citation out of †† *CURTIUS*; for that Passage does not relate to *Jerusalem*, as I have already sufficiently prov'd, but to all the rest of the Cities to which he had march'd in Person with his Army, from the Battle of *Iffus* to the Siege of *Gaza*.

* C. 14. † Lib. xxxiii. c. 10.

‡ Vid. Benteium ad Horat. Ode 6. lib. iii. Grævium ad Justin. xiii. 4. ** P. 72. †† ii. 16. ‡‡ iv. 5.

JOSEPHUS says that ALEXANDER was accompany'd in his March to *Jerusalem* by *Phœnicians* and *Chaldeans*. 'Tis plain from the *Chaldeans* being join'd with the *Phœnicians*, that by them are meant not judiciary Astrologers (as the Word often signifies) but *Chaldeans* properly so call'd, that is, Natives and Inhabitants of *Chaldæa*. 'Tis natural enough to suppose that ALEXANDER might be attended by *Phœnicians*, who were a conquer'd Nation at that time; but how, in the name of wonder, came the *Chaldeans* in his Train? At that time he had neither conquer'd nor seen *Chaldæa*; nor was he Master of an Inch of it before the Battle of *Arbela*, when *Babylon* and all *Chaldæa* revolted to him; so that Circumstance is most certainly false.

HE adds, that ALEXANDER, at the Approach of the High-Priest, worshipp'd the Name of God, inscrib'd on his Breast-Plate; and that PARMENIO being surpriz'd at it, ask'd him how he came to worship the High-Priest, when all the World worshipp'd him? What kind of
Worship

Worship was paid to ALEXANDER, we all know from * CURTIUS and † ARRIAN, who there uses the same ‡ Word with JOSEPHUS; and so does ** PLUTARCH, †† CORNELIUS NEPOS, †† XENOPHON, and *** ÆLIAN, speaking of the *Persian* Kings. This Compliment was first made to ††† CYRUS King of *Persia*, those Kings being all consider'd as ††† Gods, and treated with **** Divine Honours. And from this Precedent the Flatterers of ALEXANDER copy'd, when they introduc'd this Practice. 'Tis impossible to understand this Speech of PARMENIO in any other Sense: and then I am sure this Part of the Story is notoriously false; for 'tis †††† certain that he did not set up for a God, or expect Divine Honours till long after the Death of DARIUS, and the complete Conquest of *Persia*, which was some Years after this Transaction. From the Falshood of this

* viii. 5. † iv. 264. ‡ περὶ σκύνωντος.

** In Alexand. p. 1276. †† In Conone. †† viii. 127.

*** Var. Hist. i. 21. ††† Xenophon, *ibid.*

††† Vid. Æschyli *Persas*, v. 623. & Scholiasten.

**** Arrian, Curtius, *ibid.*

†††† Arrian, Curtius, *ibid.* Trogus xii. 7. Ælian. ii. 19.

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Article you may judge of the Truth of the whole.

MY next Charge against JOSEPHUS is the Request, he says, the High-Priest made to ALEXANDER, that he wou'd allow the *Jews* who dwelt in *Babylon* and *Media*, the free Exercise of their Religion; which implies, that ALEXANDER was then possess'd of that part of *Asia*, which is manifestly false: for he was master of neither of them till after he had fought the Battel of *Arbela*, which was, I think, the Year after this Transaction. I know very well, that USHER has given another turn to this Passage; but my Interpretation of the Words is, I think, more plain and natural: and whoever considers the Mistake of the Author of this Story, in mentioning the *Chaldeans* where there is no room for the Expression, will be apt to think he was capable of committing the like Blunder in Chronology a second time.

I SHALL conclude with an Argument from the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, which places the Death of JADDUS the High-Priest

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Priest some Years before DARIUS CODOMANNUS came to the Crown, and consequently this whole Story is false from top to bottom. I don't know what force this Argument will have with other Criticks, but I think it ought to weigh a good deal with you, because you have follow'd his Account of the * Succession and Chronologies of the High-Priests, and without it your Hypothesis of the seventy Weeks can never be maintain'd : So that you ought in Justice to retain his Authority here, or to reject it there.

THERE are some other Circumstances in this Story, which lie very open, and want to be consider'd. The two Dreams are pretty extraordinary, nor is it very likely that an insolent young Conqueror, who had the Vanity before the Year was over to get himself pronounc'd the Son of JUPITER HAMMON, shou'd throw himself at the feet of the High-Priest, (for that's the meaning of the Word *προσκυνίω*, as appears from the Authors I have cited

* Connect. Part I. Book VI. p. 411.

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on that head) and worship the Name of a God that was either unknown or despis'd by the *Greeks*, and all the Heathen Nations. Nor does JADDUS seem to have acted a very consistent Part in declaring at first, before the taking of *Tyre*, that he wou'd live and die by his Oaths to DARIUS, and afterward receiving the Victor with open Arms, and encouraging him in his Expedition against *Persia*, by shewing him the Prophecies of DANIEL, and never imploying his Interest (for aught appears to the contrary) to divert the *Jews* from lifting in an Army that was to fight against his old Master. These Particulars, 'tis possible, may be all true; but they appear with a very Romantick Air, and EUSEBIUS has done very wisely in omitting them all in his Relation.

I HAVE been often at a loss to determine, whether JOSEPHUS was the Author of this Story, or took it upon trust from Tradition, or some *Jewish* Writer, and so was impos'd on himself. But after weighing every thing, I am charitably inclin'd to the latter Opinion. In the History of his own Times, and even as high as the

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rife of the *Asmonæan* Race, where he had good Memoirs to build on, he appears to be a Writer of extreme good Sense and Sincerity, as well as of great Eloquence and Politeness. It must be own'd, that in his Account of the Scripture-Times, he has taken a bold liberty to vary from the Bible, to add, alter, retrench, and even sometimes contradict it; which is a Fault for which no other Apology can be made, but that he was of the Sect of the *Pharisees*, and gave too much Credit to their trifling Traditions. However, in the main, that part of his History is tolerably exact: But when he comes to the Interval between the end of NEHEMIAH's Government, where the Old Testament breaks off, and the beginning of the *Asmonæan* Race, which is the darkest Period of the *Jewish* History, and takes up the end of the eleventh and the greatest part of the twelfth Book of his *Antiquities*; there his History is indeed a mere fardle of Fables. Nor do I even here condemn him for want of Honesty and Sincerity, but pity his Misfortune that he had no better Lights to direct him than fabulous Traditions, and

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the lying Legends of the *Hellenistical*
Jews. I am, Sir, &c.

Dr. PRIDEAUX's first Letter to
Mr. MOYLE.

Dear Cousin,

I THANK you for your kind Letter,
and the Pains you have taken about
my Book. I shou'd have been glad of so
learned a Friend near me, to whom I
might have communicated this History be-
fore it was printed. But now three E-
ditions being publish'd of it, your Obser-
vations come too late to be of any use
for the correcting of any thing that is
mistaken. However, I shou'd be glad to
have all that you have observ'd; and if
I live to see a fourth Edition, I shall be
sure to examine all that you shall suggest
to be amiss, and as I shall see Cause for
it, make Corrections accordingly.

AS to your first Observation concern-
ing the East-India Trade, I perceive my
good

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good Cousin has not observ'd that all that I say of it is of the Trade by Sea, and not of the Trade by Land. I thought no Reader wou'd have understood it otherwise; but since you have, I shall, in the second Part, where I shall have occasion to speak of this matter again, put in such Words as shall prevent all misunderstanding of this matter.

AS to what you write of ZOROASTRES, I am of nothing more sure in antient History than that he was never King of Baëtria, or any other than a jugling Impostor; and that the time of his flourishing was in the time of DARIUS HYSTASPES: and all the Greeks that say any thing to the purpose, agree in this time. For his being King of Baëtria, and his making war with NINUS, there is no Authority but that of JUSTIN's, and those who have wrote from him. All the Greeks speak otherwise of him, and some give him a very fabulous Antiquity. But since you desire only to have it prov'd to you, that he was not antienter than the time of DARIUS HYSTASPES, I will send you no further than to the Place in the

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Proem to DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *which I have quoted: there the Successors of ZOROASTRES being nam'd, OSTANES is reckon'd the first of them, and became into Greece with XERXES. SUIDAS calls him* Περσικὸς, *but there were no Performers before CYRUS united Media and Persia together. SUIDAS, I confess, is no old Author, but his Collection is made out of those that were so, and many of those he us'd are now lost. That he is made Cotemporary with PYTHAGORAS, is another Reason for the same thing. That Passage which you refer to in ARNOBIUS, if it proves anything, it proves him to be Cotemporary with CYRUS. And APULEIUS's placing him in the time of CAMBYSES sufficiently, shows there was then an Opinion that he liv'd about that time: and putting all this together, I think it is not to be doubted but that whom others call ZABRATUS, ZARATUS, ZARAS, ZAROS, NAZARATUS, &c. is the same with ZOROASTRES, the Character of the Person, as well as the Similitude of the Names, proving this Opinion. Perchance PORPHYRIUS might think ZABRATUS and ZOROASTRES*

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to be two different Persons; but this doth not prove them so, PORPHYRY living many hundreds of Years after. All that I aim to prove by these Testimonies, is, that the best Evidence we have from among the Greeks and Latins, for the time of ZOROASTRES, placeth him about the time where I have put him. But as to the exact Chronology of all his Actions, (which is not to be found in this, or any matter among the antient Greeks) I acknowledge I follow the Eastern Writers, whose Books are all full of him; and that not from oral Tradition, as you suppose, but antient Authors. The Arabs indeed had no Learning till after the time of MAHOMET; but the Persians had; and from very antient times: And therefore, I believe no Arab Author, as to this matter, any further than he writes from the Persians; and if the Persians have Writings of this matter, of above two thousand Years standing, why shou'd they not be believ'd as well as HERODOTUS, or THUCYDIDES? ZOROASTRES's own Books are still extant among the Magians in Persia and India; and from them are all the Accounts that

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in the East are given of him. And his Books being of the same sacred Regard among them, as the Alcoran is among the Mahometans, it is not hard to conceive they shou'd be preserv'd with the same Care. As to TEXEIRA, it is not a Translation, but a short Abstract of EMIR CONDA's Persian History; that History is ten times as big. And tho that Author shou'd say nothing of ZOROASTRES, or ZERDUSHT, as they call him, this wou'd not prove there was no such Person, any more than if the contested Passage in JOSEPHUS were given up, concerning our Saviour, it wou'd prove that there was no such Person as Jesus Christ, because then there wou'd be no mention of him in that History. If there be no such mention of ZERDUSHT in EMIR CONDA, good Reason may be given for it: EMIR CONDA was a Persian Mahometan, and with them nothing can be in greater Contempt than the Magians are in Persia; and that might be Cause enough for him to take no notice either of them or their Prophet.

I BEG your Pardon, I have not time to go over all your Papers: Others, as well as you, call for the second Part of my History; and being now in the last Scene of my Life, and almost at the end of that, I have little time to spare from this Work; which, for the gratifying of you and others, I wou'd gladly finish before I die. But if I live to finish it, and another Edition shou'd be publish'd of the first Part, I will then thorowly examine all that you shall offer, but think my Opinion, as to the time of ZOROASTRES, to be too well founded ever to be alter'd by me. I am, &c.

Norwich, Octob. 14. 1716.

Mr.

Mr. MOYLE's Answer.

L E T T E R V .

S I R,

— **I**N the next place, you wou'd bring ZOROASTRES down as low as the Age of CYRUS, by the help of a half Citation from a nameless Author in SUIDAS, who styles him a *Perfomedian*; but immediately adds, that he flourish'd five hundred Years before the *Trojan War*, that is, a thousand Years before CYRUS: which plainly shows that STANLEY, MARSHAM, and **** are mistaken in the meaning of the Word *Perfomedes*, which you suppose to have been never heard of till the Union of the two Kingdoms of *Media* and *Persia*, under CYRUS, since you see it mention'd a thousand Years before. And if the Authority of SUIDAS's Author is good for one Circumstance of the Story, 'tis good for both. This single Argument from SUIDAS sufficiently overturns your Interpretation of
the

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Word *Perſomedes* ; but I ſhall add ſome other Proofs. In the firſt place, I deny that the Word *Perſomedia*, or *Perſomedes*, is to be met with in all the Geographers or Hiſtorians (as MARSHAM himſelf confeſſes) or any where elſe but in this ſingle Paſſage, where 'tis uſ'd in a quite different Senſe from what you give it, as I ſhall ſhow hereafter. Nor was there any ſuch thing after CYRUS united the Monarchy of the *Medes* and *Perſians* : For *Media*, after the Reign of CYRUS, was as much a Province of *Perſia* as any of their other Conqueſts. All the old Writers, with one conſent, agree that CYRUS conquer'd *Media*, and put an end to the Empire of the *Medes*, except XENOPHON in his CYROPÆDIA ; which PLATO, CICERO, AUSONIUS, and all Antiquity, who were the beſt Judges, conſider'd as a Romance. And that XENOPHON himſelf deſign'd it for ſuch, I am fully perſuaded from a remarkable Paſſage of * his, which none of the Criticks that I have met with have taken notice of. He there expreſſy affirms that the *Medes*

* Ἀνὰ Καὶ 15, iii. 182, 3.

were

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were subdu'd, and dispossefs'd of their Empire by the *Persians*, and relates several remarkable Particulars of the last War between the Kings of *Persia* and *Media*. He has not given us their Names indeed, but 'tis plain he cou'd have no other in his Eye but CYRUS and ASTYAGES; for he relates it as an antient Fact, and therefore it can never be understood of the Revolt of the *Medes* under DARIUS NOTHUS, which happen'd but six or seven Years before. This Account is a flat Contradiction to the whole tenour of the *Cyropædia*, and is a Demonstration that XENOPHON did not intend it for a true History, but the Model of a good Prince.

THAT *Persia*, properly so call'd, was alone the *Domicilium Imperii*, and that the *Medes* were not joint Sharers with them in the Empire, appears from the Revolt of the *Medes* under DARIUS NOTHUS, to recover their antient Sovereignty; which is mention'd by HERODOTUS*, and by † XENOPHON, and from the Dying-Speech of ‡ CAMBYSES,

* i. 35. † In *Ἑλλάδι*, i. 255. ‡ Herod. iii. 119.

in which he conjures the *Persians* not to suffer the Empire to be transferr'd again to the *Medes*. The same is confirm'd by the Form of CYRUS's * Edict, where he only takes the Style and Title of King of *Persia*, and from innumerable other Testimonies which 'twou'd be endless to produce. 'Tis true, we often meet in THUCYDIDES, HERODOTUS and other Writers, with the Words $\pi\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\delta\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$, and $\mu\epsilon\delta\iota\zeta\epsilon\omega$, where the *Persians* are plainly meant: but nothing can be gather'd from the use of these Terms, but that those Writers consider'd *Media* as the most considerable Province of the *Persian* Monarchy, and which had formerly been possess'd of the † Empire of *Asia*; and call the new Empire that had been rais'd on its Ruins by the old Name, tho' 'twas in different Hands. In like manner HORACE, PROPERTIUS, and LUCAN have call'd the *Parthians Medes*, tho' there is not the least pretence of a Supposition that the *Medes* and *Parthians* had been ever united or incorporated into one Nation. And the same Answer will serve

* Ezra i. 2.

† Strabo xi. 525.

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for the Arguments MARSHAM has urg'd from the Book of ESTHER. As for the Objection of STANLEY and MARSHAM, that *Persia* made no figure in the World before the Time of CYRUS, 'tis very true; but ZOROASTRES might be born in *Persia* for all that. The Name and Nation of the *Persians* are elder than the *Trojan* War, as appears from * DIODORUS, † HERODOTUS, ‡ EUSTATHIUS, ** SALLUST, †† PLINY, †† STEPHANUS, and *** APOLLODORUS.

HAVING said thus much against your Sense of the Word *Persomedes*, I'll now give you my own, which I borrow'd from ††† SCALIGER. He supposes it to signify a half *Persian* and half *Mede*, his Father being of one Nation and his Mother of another; as CYRUS is styl'd a *Mule* by the Oracle in ††† HERODOTUS, and by MEGASTHENES in ABYDENUS, for the same Reason. Bishop **** USHER un-

* L. ii. p. 109.

† L. vii. 257, 274.

‡ Ad Dionysium, v. 1056. ** De Bello Jugurth. c. 21.

†† L. v. 8.

‡‡ In Πέριου.

*** L. ii. 4.

††† Ad Fragmenta, p. 20.

‡‡‡ L. i. 13.

**** Ad A. P. J. 4115.

derstands

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derstands the Word in the same Sense. This is confirm'd by * CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, who calls him a *Persian*, and a little lower in the same † Book calls him a *Mede*. And these different Accounts can't be well reconcil'd upon any other Supposition, but that ZOROASTRES was descended from both Nations. Nor is it strange that a single Person shou'd borrow his National Name from two different Provinces, when there are Examples enough in History of whole Nations who have taken their Names in the same manner. The *Gallo-Græci* of *Asia*, were so call'd from their being a mix'd Race, descended by Inter-marriages of *Gauls* and ‡ *Asiatick Greeks*. The *Celtiberi* of *Spain* borrow'd that Name from the *Celtæ* and *Iberi*, from whom they were jointly ** descended. There are many other Instances of the same kind, as the *Gallo-Scythæ*, mention'd by †† PLUTARCH, the †† *Liby Ægyptii*, the *** *Liby*

* In Strom. i. p. 357.

† P. 399.

‡ Flor. ii. 11. Liv. xxxviii. 17.

** Diodor. v. 309. Appian. Iberica, p. 256.

†† In Mario, p. 752.

‡‡ Mela i. 4. Plin. v. 8.

*** Plin. v. 4. Liv. xxv. 40. Ptolom. iv. 3. Scymnus Chius, v. 196.

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Phænices ; to which I may add the *Medo Bithyni* mention'd by * STRABO, and the *Armeno Chalybes*. Many other Examples of compound 'Εθνικὰ might be produc'd, and all in the same Sense I have given to the Word *Perſomedes* ; but theſe Authorities are ſufficient to warrant my Interpretation, and to prove it agreeable to the Analogy and Uſage of the *Greek Tongue*. As for Sir JOHN MARSHAM, who firſt ſtarted the other Interpretation, and is follow'd by STANLEY, I don't wonder at him ; for his whole Scheme is to derive the Original of all Arts and Sciences from the *Egyptians*, and in that view he has brought down ZOROASTRES by Head and Shoulders ſome Ages lower than the *Egyptian Magicians*, contrary to the Authority of † PLINY, ARNOBIUS, and ‡ USHER.

I WONDER you ſhou'd inſiſt on the Authority of APULEIUS for an Opinion which he expreſſly contradicts, and which you own to be inconfiſtent with the Chronology of PYTHAGORAS. AS

* C. vii. 295. † C. 30. 1. ‡ Ad A. P. J. 3447.

to the Article of ZARATUS, you have given up one of your Authors, PORPHYRY; and by the same rule you must give up CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, who in the * same Place where he mentions NAZARATUS or ZARATUS, names ZOROASTRES as a different Man, and of a different Nation; and PLUTARCH, who mentions them as distinct Persons: for he makes the first Cotemporary with PYTHAGORAS, and the last some thousand Years elder. And 'tis very strange you will have ZARATUS and ZOROASTRES to be all one, tho your own Authors expressly deny it. Upon the whole matter, I can't find that you have one single Testimony from any *Greek* or *Latin* Writer, in favour of your Hypothesis, but all must be resolv'd into the Authority of the Eastern Writers, whom I think unworthy of Credit.

I HAVE left the Age of ZOROASTRES at large, without fixing it to any particular Date, by reason of the uncertainty of the old Writers; nor did I ever

* Strom. i. p. 357.

† De Iside & Osir. p. 659.

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affirm that he was King of *Bactria*: But I don't think TROGUS was the only Author who has made him so, for HERMIPPUS, a very antient Writer, makes him a * *Bactrian*; and Bishop USHER thinks † ZOROASTRES to be the true Reading in DIODORUS, and not OXYATRES; which I still think may be fairly inferr'd from that corrupt Passage of ARNOBIUS, which I cited in my Letter. You suppose that the Writers who have carry'd the Age of ZOROASTRES to a great Antiquity, have said nothing to the purpose, tho they are Authors of the greatest Fame and Antiquity. In that number is XANTHUS LYDIUS, who was as antient as you make ZOROASTRES, and is prais'd by a very good Judge, DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS, as an excellent Antiquary, and makes him many hundred Years elder than himself. ARISTOTLE, and EUDOXUS are old Writers, and of the greatest Reputation for Judgment and Integrity: And if their Accounts carry him too high, 'tis at least good Proof of his great Antiquity. HER-

* Apud Arnob. i.

† Ad A. P. J. 3447.

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MIPPUS, who flourish'd a little later, is another of my Authors; to say nothing of PLUTARCH, PLINY, HERMODORUS, and many others, who, if laid in the Scale, will infinitely outweigh the Testimony of APULEIUS and SUIDAS, if they really favour'd your Hypothesis, which I am far from believing. I shall add only one Author, because I think he has escap'd all the modern Criticks who have writ of ZOROASTRES, NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS. He tells us, * that *the Persians when they were burning CROESUS, bethought themselves of the Oracles (or Laws) of ZOROASTRES, which forbade such a Profanation of Fire; and adds, that 'twas an antient Prohibition: which shows that ZOROASTRES was a great deal more antient than CYRUS. By the Oracles of ZOROASTRES, I don't mean that Rhapsody of mystical Nonsense publish'd by PATRICIUS, but the Book of his Laws, or the System of Religious Worship; in the same Sense as the Word λογία is us'd, Acts vii. 38. Rom. iii. 2.*

* Excerpta Valesiana, p. 460.

I AM surpriz'd to see you send me to *DIOGENES LAËRTIUS's* Proem, which makes directly against you. The Passage you refer to is taken from *XANTHUS LYDIUS*, who flourish'd, according to *SUIDAS*, under *DARIUS HYSTASPES*; which is confirm'd by * *ATHENÆUS*, who says he was cited by *EPHORUS*, who makes him elder than *HERODOTUS*. This Account all the modern Criticks are agreed in, as *VOSSIUS*, *Du PIN*, *MENAGE*, and *HARDUIN* in his Notes on the Authors cited by *PLINY*: so that, by your reckoning, he must be Cotemporary with *ZOROASTRES*. The Relation which *DIOGENES* borrows from him, is as follows: *XANTHUS LYDIUS* makes six hundred Years between *ZOROASTRES* and *XERXES's* Expedition into *Greece*, and that after him there was a Succession of many *Magi*, viz. the *OSTANÆ*, *ASTRAPSYCHI*, *GOBRYÆ*, and *PAZATÆ*. What follows is an Addition of *DIOGENES LAËRTIUS*; for 'tis impossible that a Writer who flourish'd under *DARIUS*,

* P. 515.

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and his Son XERXES, cou'd mention the Subversion of the *Persian* Monarchy by ALEXANDER; which I wonder MENAGE and the Criticks han't taken notice of. I am at a loss to imagine what Consequence you can draw from this Passage in favour of your Hypothesis. 'Tis apparent that XANTHUS LYDIUS, who, upon your Supposition, was equal with ZOROASTRES, places him six hundred Years before the Expedition of XERXES, which he never wou'd have done had they both liv'd in the same Age. He himself was a Subject of *Persia*, and cou'd be no Stranger to their Religion, Laws, or History, especially to Facts in his own Memory. As for OSTANES being his immediate Successor, which is the Argument you insist on, 'tis plain he cou'd not be above forty or fifty Years younger than his Master, and consequently he must be many hundred Years elder than XERXES. But if you believe, upon the Credit of XANTHUS, that OSTANES was the Successor of ZOROASTRES, why won't you believe him when he places ZOROASTRES six hundred Years earlier than XERXES? If you admit of one Article

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of the Relation, you ought, by the same parity of Reason, to allow of the other ; since both of them depend on the same Authority, and one is every whit as probable as the other. Nor does XANTHUS say that ZOROASTRES was follow'd by OSTANES, but by the OSTANÆ in the plural number, that is, by a Succession of several of that Name, and so of the rest that are afterward mention'd, as * A. FABRICIUS rightly understands it, and † SUIDAS mentions an intire Succession of that name. ‡ Here is too long a train of Successors for so short a Period of time as pass'd between DARIUS and XERXES's Expedition, in whose Reign XANTHUS wrote, or thereabout. DIOGENES indeed, by an absurd Gloss or Addition to XANTHUS's Relation, has enlarg'd the time, and was led into that Mistake, I suppose, by having heard of an OSTANES who flourish'd under ALEXANDER, as we are told by ** PLINY. Thus, Sir, I

* Bibl. Græc. i. 14.

† In 'Oσάνων.

‡ Vid. etiam Gesnerum & Worth ad Tatianum, c. 28.

& Scaliger. ad Græc. Euseb. Chron. p. 420.

** L. xxx. i.

think

think I have abundantly prov'd that many of the Successors of ZOROASTRES bore the Name of OSTANES; and 'tis as manifest from this Passage of XANTHUS, that the first of these OSTANÆ, who was his immediate Successor, cou'd not be the OSTANES who came with XERXES into *Greece*, because he makes him many hundred Years elder: Which Account is confirm'd by APULEIUS, in his Apology, who carries his Age to a much greater height; for he makes him more antient than MOSES and JAMNES.

AS for the *Persian* Writers, I know nothing of them but from TEXIERA, who tells us that MIRKONDE has the Reputation of being their best Historian, who may be well suppos'd to have collected his Materials from their most antient and approv'd Authors; whom, for that Reason, I can never believe to be above two thousand Years old: For 'tis impossible that Writers who flourish'd under the *Persian* Empire, cou'd have been so grossly ignorant of the Succession, Descent, Lives and Actions of their own Kings. This Charge upon them you must allow to be

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true, unless you are resolv'd to give up all the old *Greek* and *Latin* Monuments, and the *Bible* into the bargain, and set up these sorry *Romances* in their room. I can never believe their Book of their Law to be the same they had formerly, because their Religion is not the same. I gave some Instances of it in my first Letter, which I shan't repeat, but only observe, that the present *Persians*, according to your account, are downright *Deists*, whereas the old *Persians* were most certainly *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, as appears from the Places I cited in CLEMENS, and EPIPHANIUS: to which I shall add the Authority of a much better Writer, * STRABO, who liv'd in *Cappadocia*, where great numbers of the *Persian* Sect resided, and openly profess'd their Religion; and 'tis impossible that an Eye-witness, as he affirms of himself, cou'd be mistaken in his account of their Worship. If you ask how their original Law came to be lost, I answer, that 'tis very natural to suppose, that after so many Turns and Revolutions in *Persia*, it might have the same Fate which

* L. xv. 733.

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 57

the *Jewish* Law so narrowly escap'd under JOSIAH, when there was but one Copy of it left in the World. Or perchance it might have the fortune of the lesser Epistles of IGNATIUS, to be so chang'd by Additions and Interpolations, in course of time, as to become a quite different Law. As to their present Book of the Law, it appears by the Account of HERBERT, in his Travels, as to the Historical Part of it, to be such a heap of silly Lyes and Legends, that I am apt to think the World has no great loss of Dr. HYDE's Translation. And * HUETIUS has given so many Instances of Facts and Doctrines manifestly taken from the Gospels, and apply'd to ZOROASTRES, that no reasonable Man can doubt of its being compos'd long since the rise of Christianity: And if it still bears the Name of ZOROASTRES, tho' forg'd so many Ages after him, that may be easily accounted for to any Man who has read the *Codex Apocryphus N. Testamenti*, publish'd by FABRICIUS, where he will meet with numerous Examples of mock Gospels and Epistles, that were forg'd some Ages after

* P. 88.

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the Death of the Authors to whom they are ascrib'd, and as firmly believ'd by those who receiv'd them as the *Zendaverta* is by the *Persians*. MIRCONDE, if a Bigot, ought the rather to have related the Imposture of ZOROASTRES, in order to have expos'd it, as SANDERS and WARD have writ the History of our Reformation, and as you have writ the Life of MAHOMET. The Argument from the Silence of MIRCONDE is no demonstrative one, nor did I urge it as such; but I thought it very natural to suppose, that if so memorable a Revolution in Religion had happen'd in the time of GORTORP, it cou'd never have escap'd MIRCONDE, in his History of the Transactions of that Reign: But if † TEXEIRA is to be credited, ZOROASTRES was the same with ZOAKT, the sixth King of *Persia*, who, according to MIRCONDE, flourish'd many Ages before GORTORP.

I SHALL conclude all with one Observation, that your Hypothesis wou'd have been more plausible and consistent,

† P. 31.

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 59

if you had suppos'd two ZOROASTRE'S, the first the Founder of the *Persian* Sect, who is mention'd by all the old *Greek* Writers, and the second the Reviver or Reformer of the same Sect, for whom you have the Authority of the *Eastern* Historians, as far as it will go. Upon this Supposition, you wou'd have avoided a world of Difficulties and Objections, which are never to be got over on the foot you have now set it, without rejecting the Authority of the very best Writers of all Antiquity, which will never be allow'd by the Critics.

Dr. PRIDEAUX's second Letter.

Dear Cousin,

I HAVE receiv'd more of your Papers: To answer fully all that you object, wou'd require a Volume, which I have not Time or Strength to do, being almost worn out by Infirmary, caus'd by the Calamity I have suffer'd, and my advanc'd Age, as being now just upon the seventieth Year of my Life. This hath so far broken me, as to confine me wholly

2

to

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to my House, and most an end to my Chamber: Only since you press particularly about the 'Avalédis, my Answer is, that XENOPHON was not the Author of that Book, but one THEMISTOGENES of Syracuse. This XENOPHON himself saith, in the beginning of the third Book of his Hellenics. If you please to consult USHER's Annals, sub Anno J. P. 4313, you will find this there fully made out. I have indeed quoted that Book under the name of XENOPHON, because of the common Opinion, which every where attributes it to him; but I think the Truth is otherwise. - I perceive you hang much upon the matter of ZOROASTRES: but all that you object is built upon Mistakes. If you do not place him where I have, where else will you place him? Will you put him with PLUTARCH, five thousand Years before the War of Troy; or, with others, six thousand Years before the Time of PLATO? Others indeed reduce the thousands to hundreds, but all is Fable; for the Antients much affected a fabulous Antiquity for all they relate. They who put things latest are generally nearest the Truth. It is easy in all such matters

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 61

matters to make Objections for pulling down, but then you ought to build up better in their stead. I write with a paralytical Hand, which makes Writing difficult to me ; for which I also need your Pardon. I am, Dear Cousin, &c.

Norwich, Jan. 30. 1716.

Dr. PRIDEAUX's third Letter.

Dear Cousin,

THO my Hand be almost past writing, as you will sufficiently see by this Letter, yet I cannot omit thanking you for the Kindness of your last. I hope e'er this you have receiv'd my Book. I am sure it will no where find a more observing and judicious Reader than your self: I had sufficient Experience of this in your learned Remarks on the former Part. They have instructed me for the making some Alterations against another Edition ; but however I cannot recede from placing the ZOROASTRES, who was the ZERDUSHT of the Persians, and

3

the

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the Author of the Book Zundaveflow, (which is the Bible of the Magians) in that very Age where my Book has plac'd him : To say otherwise would be to contradict all the antient Histories of the Persians, and the general Tradition of all the East. What you object out of XANTHUS LYDIUS, who liv'd in that very Age in which I place ZOROASTRES, looks like an unanswerable Argument ; it being by no means likely that this Author shou'd assert ZOROASTRES to have liv'd six hundred Years before the Expedition of XERXES, if he was his Contemporary. One Answer hereto is, The History that in the time of DIOGENES LAERTUS, went under the Name of XANTHUS LYDIUS, was none of his, but written by DIONYSIUS SCYTOBRACHION, who liv'd a little before the Time of TULLY and JULIUS CÆSAR. This ATHENÆUS tells us, lib. xii. and quotes for it ARTEMON CASSANDREUS, who wrote a Treatise on purpose to make a distinction of the genuine Authors from the spurious, which were then extant. But I am rather apt to think, with PLINY, (lib. xxx. c. 1.) that there were

two

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 63

*two ZOROASTRES's, the elder of which was the Founder of the Magian Sect, and the other the Reformer; and that this latter was the ZERDUSHT of the Persians, and liv'd in the Time where I have plac'd him. PLINY, in the Chapter last quoted, tells us of a ZOROASTRES who liv'd but a little before (paulo ante hunc, are his Words) that OSTANES, who came with XERXES into Greece. PLATO, in the tenth Book of his Politicks, spoke of a ZOROASTRES, who was HERUS ARMENIUS, a Pamphylian. This same was the ARMENIUS PAMPHILUS, who, ARNOBIUS tells us, was familiarly acquainted with CYRUS, (See Clem. Alexand. Strom. v. p. 436. Edit. Hinf. Arnob. lib. i. p. 31.) I acknowledge the Passage in ARNOBIUS is very dark; but if it signifies any thing, it must signify thus much, That there was a ZOROASTRES who liv'd in the time of CYRUS. I may add hereto, that the Antiquity which most of the Antients among the Greeks and Latins attribute to ZOROASTRES, is notoriously fabulous, as that of five thousand Years before the Wars of Troy, and another of six thousand Years before
the*

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the time of PLATO, &c. In most Pretences to Antiquity, it may go for a general Rule, that they who say the latest say the truest. As to your other Objection against ALEXANDER's having been at Jerusalem, the Place you refer to in PLINY, manifestly makes against you; for the Words there plainly prove that ALEXANDER was then at Jericho, when that Incision was made in the Balsam Trees which he makes mention of; otherwise these Words, Alexandro magno res ibi gerente, wou'd be very impertinently inserted. And if he were at Jericho, he cou'd not go from thence to Gaza without taking Jerusalem in his way. The Words in PLINY to me plainly imply, that ALEXANDER was at Jericho when that Incision was made, and that it was made at that time, for his sake, to gather some of the Balsam. That an extraordinary Providence has always attended that People, for their Preservation, is manifest. That they are now in being is a sufficient Proof hereof. I am, &c.

Norwich, July 10. 1718.

Mr.

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 65

Mr. MOYLE's Answer.

LETTER VI.

*Of ALEXANDER's having been
at Jerusalem.*

S I R,

BISHOP USHER produc'd the Passage of PLINY you have quoted, to prove that ALEXANDER, after the taking of *Tyre*, invaded *Judea*. This I own'd, taking *Judea* in the largest Sense of the Word, which includes *Palestine* properly so call'd; and consequently *Gaza*, which ALEXANDER besieg'd, and to that Siege I suppose PLINY alluded.

PLINY begins the 25th Chapter of the twelfth Book with these Words, *Sed omnibus odoribus præfertur Balsamum, uni terrarum Judææ concessum, &c.* From this Period to the Passage you cite, viz. *Alexandro Magno res ibi gerente*, there is no mention made of any Region,

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Province, City or Town of *Judea*; and consequently by all the Rules of Grammar and Construction, *ibi* can be referr'd to nothing but *Judea*. For PLINY names the Country in general, without specifying the particular quarter of *Judea*, where the Balsam-Tree grew. This he did in imitation of DIOSCORIDES, who says the very same: For as to THEOPHRASTUS, he leaves it more at large, by saying that it grew in a Vale of *Syria*. But the Balsam-Trees, you say, grew in the Gardens of *Jericho*. 'Tis very true; but PLINY does not tell us so, and 'tis highly probable that he did not know it, or at least had forgot it: For he has twice mention'd * *Jericho*, and describes it in both Places as remarkable for its Groves of Palm-Trees, without saying a Word of the Balsam-Tree, which was the distinguishing Rarity of *Jericho*, as being peculiar to that City only, and the most valuable Plant in the World: And PLINY cou'd not have fail'd to take notice of it, if he had ever heard, or at least remember'd, that the Balsam-Tree grew there. It may be objected,

* L. v. 14. xiii. 4.

that

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 67

that TROGUS and STRABO, both elder Writers than PLINY, have plac'd the Balsam-Garden at *Jericho*, from whom he might have learn'd it. As to the first, the Text is doubtful, one Manuscript only favouring the vulgar Reading; and 'tis uncertain whether the Word *Hierichus* is TROGUS's, or his Abridger JUSTIN's. And besides, PLINY has never cited the History of TROGUS, tho he has mention'd his other Works. And as for STRABO, he has never once quoted him in the whole course of his History: from whence one may fairly infer, that he had never read those Authors, or at least had forgot that Particular in them.

THIS Passage PLINY has borrow'd (as THEOPHRASTUS has done the latter part of it) from an Author not now extant: but by the mention of ALEXANDER's being in those parts at that time, one may easily guess in what Age he liv'd. He has more than once cited the *Comites Alexandri*, for the Discoveries they had made of new Plants and other Rarities, during their Attendance upon ALEXANDER, in his Eastern Expedition; and 'tis

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very natural to suppose, that their Curiosity might lead them to visit so celebrated a Plant as the Balsam, while ALEXANDER lay with his Army in those Parts : And from their Relations, I am persuaded, PLINY took this Circumstance of his Descriptions. So that there is no necessity to infer from this place, that ALEXANDER had been at *Jericho* himself. He had too much Work upon his hands, at this juncture, to spend a whole Summer's day in trying Experiments upon the bleeding of the Balsam-Tree. Besides, *Jericho* lay out of his way from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, whither JOSEPHUS makes him march directly, tho not indeed from *Tyre*, but from *Gaza*. Nor did he wage any War in *Judea*, properly so call'd, which is imply'd in PLINY ; for your own Author tells us, that the whole Country submitted without striking a Blow, and receiv'd him with open Arms.

I AM so far from thinking that ALEXANDER was ever at *Jericho*, that I don't believe he ever was in any part of *Judea*, strictly so nam'd. 'Tis most probable that he took the direct Road to *Tyre*,
2
along

Dr. Prideaux's Connection. 69

along the Sea-Shore thro *Phanicia* and *Palestina*, properly so call'd, to *Gaza*. JOSEPHUS makes him march directly from *Tyre* to *Gaza*. The same is plainly imply'd in ARRIAN; and CURTIUS says that he order'd HEPHÆSTION, with the Fleet under his command, to coast along the Shore of *Phanicia*, while he came himself with the Land Army to *Gaza*, without making the least mention of any Action that interven'd in his March thither. And is it possible to suppose that if he had reduc'd *Judea* by the way, the Conquest of so important a Province wou'd have been pass'd over in silence by CURTIUS, who is so very particular in the relation of the inconsiderable Exploits of ALEXANDER? This confirms what I observ'd from ARRIAN in my first Letter, that *Judea* had submitted to ALEXANDER, before he mov'd from *Tyre*.

I WON'T repeat the false Dates and other Inconsistencies which I have discover'd in JOSEPHUS's Relation. I consider the whole as a Religious *Romance*, to which you say the *Jews* of those Times were much addicted; and perhaps 'twas

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forg'd in the same Mint with ARISTÆUS's History of the Septuagint, which you have so admirably well confuted.

THE Explication I have given of those Texts of Scripture which make mention of the Empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, is confirm'd by a parallel Passage of POLYÆNUS, in his Dedication to ANTONINUS and VERUS, where he presages that they wou'd obtain the Victory over the *Persians* and *Parthians*. In this last case, there is not the least Pretence for a voluntary Coalition between these two Nations, or that they were joint Sharers in the Sovereignty. 'Tis possible indeed that the *Persians* might then have a nominal King or Viceroy, as they had in STRABO's time; but 'tis certain he was subject to the *Parthians* till ARTAXERXES shook off the Yoke, and restor'd the *Persians* to their Independence and Empire. I can't imagine what other Account can be given for these two Nations being mention'd together on this occasion, than what I have assign'd for the *Medes* and *Persians* being jointly nam'd in the Bible.

ARCH-

ARCHBISHOP USHER's Conceit, that THEMISTOGENES was the Author of XENOPHON's *Ἀναξάνης*, against the Consent of such a Cloud of Witnesses as he has produc'd, is a very odd Paradox. To the nine Authors he has nam'd, all of unquestionable Credit, I shall add eleven more, *viz.* * ÆLIAN, † LUCIAN, ‡ STRABO, STEPHANUS, EUSTATHIUS in *Dionysium*, HESYCHIUS, POLLUX, HARPOCRATION *passim*, AMMONIUS the Grammarian in *ἀποδοξῶναι*, SUIDAS, and TZETZES. Is it possible for any antient Fact to be better attested? The only Argument USHER insists on, is fairly accounted for by PLUTARCH, whom he cites, and by ** TZETZES. 'Tis true, they don't agree in their Reasons for XENOPHON's giving THEMISTOGENES the Honour of this History; but their Reasons are very consistent with each other, and are very properly brought if true. All the modern Authors of any note, follow the Authority of the antient, who were

* L. vii. 14.

‡ L. viii. p. 387.

† In *Somnio*, p. 11, 12.

** In *Chil.* vii. 154.

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certainly the best Judges in this Controversy. But setting aside the Testimonies of the old and new Criticks, the Conformity of the Style, and the way of thinking in this Book, with the rest of XENOPHON'S Works, is to me a Demonstration, that either XENOPHON was the Author of this Piece, or THEMISTOGENES of all the rest that are father'd on XENOPHON. The Bishop is singular in his Opinion; not one Critick, that I know of, having thought fit to follow him: But the Bishop's Conduct, upon this occasion, is easily accounted for. The Authority of the *Cyropædia*, for Reasons which are very obvious, was to be maintain'd right or wrong, tho all Antiquity thought it a Romance; and his *'Αγαθήσις*, which every body knew to be a true History, so grossly contradicting it, was a plain Proof that XENOPHON design'd it as such. To evade this Difficulty, and to vindicate the Authority of the *Cyropædia*, the Bishop was forc'd to father the *'Αγαθήσις* on a different Author.

ATHENÆUS indeed tells us, that ARTEMIO CASSANDREUS affirms, that the

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the *Lydiaca*, which pass'd under the name of XANTHUS, was writ by DIONYSIUS SCYTHOBRACHION: But he is so far from being of ARTEMIO's Opinion, that he reproaches him with Ignorance, in not knowing that this Book had been cited by EPHORUS, and that the Example of XANTHUS set HERODOTUS upon writing his History. Both these Authors flourish'd Ages before DIONYSIUS SCYTHOBRACHION, as you very rightly observe; and the Passage of SUETONIUS, from which *CASAUBON infers the contrary, is a Demonstration against himself. So that 'tis plain ATHENÆUS thought the *Lydiaca* genuine. 'Tis cited as such by STRABO, and by DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, the best Critick of the politest Age that ever was, who at the same time gives a very great Character of the Author: to say nothing of PLINY, SUIDAS, STEPHANUS and others, who make frequent mention of this History, without the least Suspicion of its being counterfeit. So that we have all the external Evidence can be desir'd to prove it

* De Grammat. illust. c. 7.

genuine:

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genuine : and as for internal Proofs, there are none to be had, there being nothing extant of this History but a few Scraps, that can give us no light one way or other. But after all, allowing this History to be a spurious Work, it won't affect my Argument at all ; for I don't suppose the Passage in *DIOGENES LAERTIUS* we are disputing about, was borrow'd from the *Lydian* History of *XANTHUS*, but from another Work of his that treated of the Doctrine and Principles of the *Magians*, and is cited by **CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS*. So say *VOSSIUS*, *DUPIN*, *HARDUIN* and *MENAGE* ; and 'tis infinitely more natural to suppose that he mention'd the Age of *ZOROASTRES* in a Book which treated of a Sect of which he was the Founder, than in the History of the *Lydian* Antiquities, in which *ZOROASTRES* was no ways concern'd. *ARTEMIO* an obscure Writer, against a Cloud of Witnesses.

BUT your other Answer is far better, and I think you are extremely in the right

* L. iii. 515.

to suppose two ZOROASTRES'S. 'Tis the Expedient I propos'd to you in my last Letter upon this Subject ; and I think it impossible to reconcile the *Grecian* and *Persian* Accounts upon any other Hypothesis. This will render your whole Relation infinitely more probable ; and your making the last ZOROASTRES not the Founder but the Reformer of the *Magian* Sect, will, in some measure, account for the little mention that is made of him by the *Western* Writers ; it being possible that some of the Actions and Doctrines of the latter, may, thro' mistake, have been father'd on the former ZOROASTRES, who gave the first rise to that Sect ; and for that Reason was most celebrated by the *Greek* Writers. Give me leave to observe a Mistake you have made in this Subject, in the first * Part, which shou'd be corrected in another Edition : You there cite JAMBLICHUS, to prove that PYTHAGORAS was the Scholar of ZOROASTRES ; but JAMBLICHUS, in the Place you mention, says only in general,

* Part I. Book IV. p. 228.

that

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that PYTHAGORAS convers'd with the
Magi, without naming ZOROASTRES,
or any other of that Sect.

Part II. Book VIII. p. 588. 8vo.

*That OCTAVIANUS's Posterity
never enjoy'd the Empire.*

AGRIPPINA the Daughter of *JULIA*, *AUGUSTUS's* Daughter, was the
Mother of *CALIGULA* the Emperor, and
of *AGRIPPINA* the Mother of the Em-
peror *NERO*: So that *CALIGULA* was
the great Grandson of *AUGUSTUS*, and
NERO his great great Grandson.

Dr.

Dr. PRIDEAUX's fourth Letter.

Dear Cousin,

I DO most heartily thank you for your kind Letter, especially for the Observations which you have sent me of my Mistakes in the last Part of my History. I must confess that about OCTAVIUS's Posterity is a very great one. It is a downright Blunder of my old Head, and I am glad so accurate and learned a Reader has not observ'd more of them. This makes me hope that no more such have escap'd me. I have mended this, and all the others you have taken notice of; only I cannot make SOCRATES a Sodomite. The Place in Juvenal which you mention, reflects on him for his Affection to ALCIBIADES, as if that were a Sodomitical Amour. I am past labouring any further, being now past the seventieth Tear of my Age. If I out-live the ensuing Winter, it is more than I expect, or indeed desire; for I have now upon me those Decays both of Body and Mind as
make

78 *R E M A R K S, &c.*

*make me fully sensible —Gravis est & dura
Senectus. Every body cannot live so long
as my Aunt M. M. tho perchance I might
have liv'd much longer, and in full Vi-
gour, had not my great Calamity come
athwart me ; considering that, it is
much that I have lasted so long. I bless
God for all his Mercies hitherto.*

I am, Dear Cousin, &c.

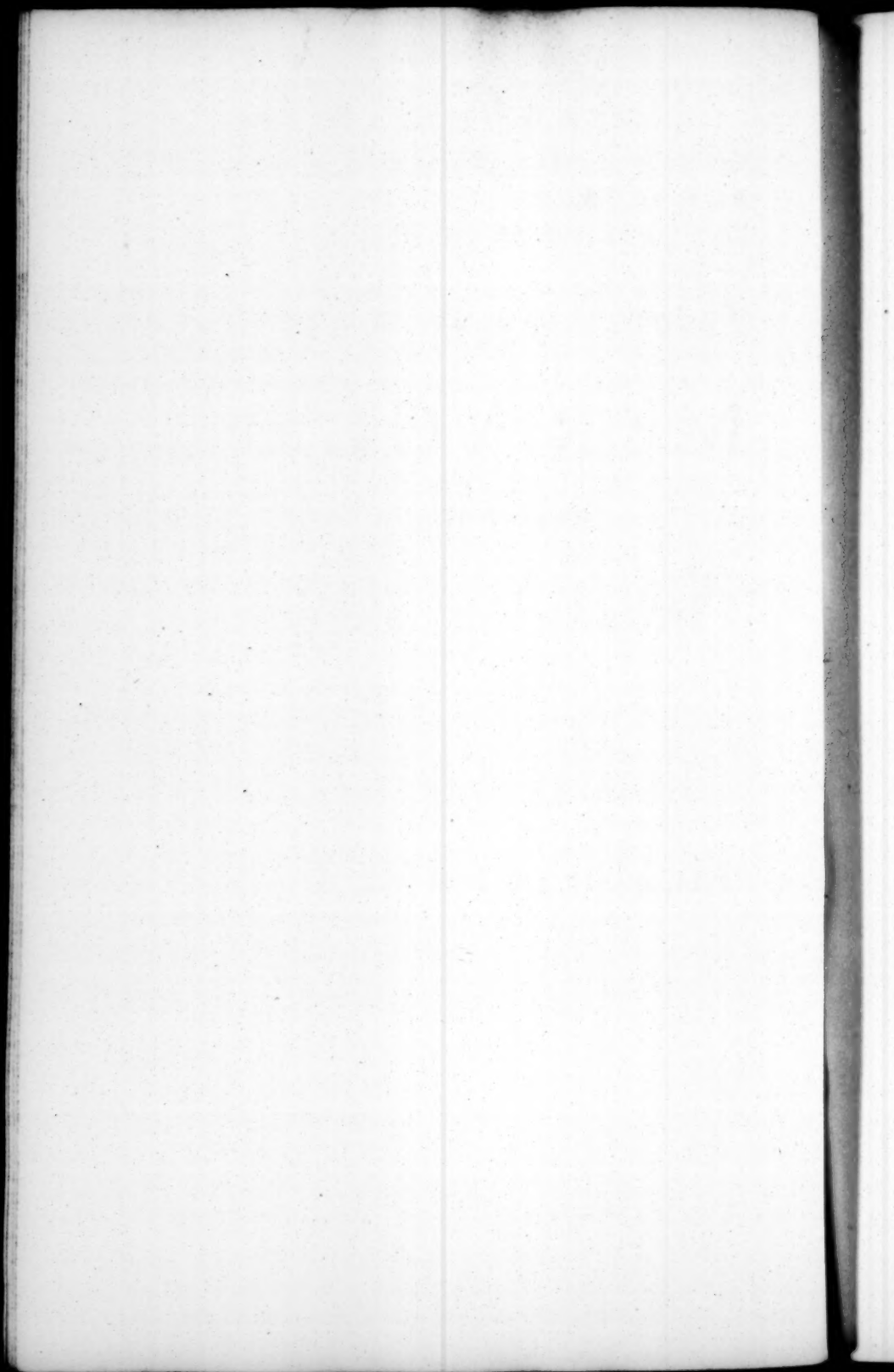
Norwich, Sept. 6. 1711.

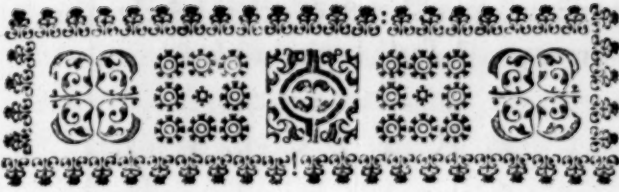
T H E

THE
MIRACLE
OF THE
Thundering Legion
EXAMIN'D:

In several LETTERS between

Mr. MOYLE and Mr. K—.





LETTERS

Concerning the

Thundering Legion.

LETTER I.

S I R,



T length I send you the Discourse I promis'd you on the Miracle of the *Thundering-Legion*. I have taken the whole Relation of the Story in pieces, as 'tis given us by EUSEBIUS, (*Hist. Eccl. v. 5.*) and examin'd every particular Circumstance

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F

apart;

apart ; and, if they appear to be all false, I presume you'll reject the whole for a Forgery. I shall begin with

A R T I C L E I.

That there was not an entire Legion of Christians in the Army of ANTONINUS.

TIS highly improbable, that there was an entire Legion of Christians in ANTONINUS's Army ; as EUSEBIUS and APOLLINARIS plainly intimate : So VALESIIUS understands them, and SCALIGER, (*ad Euseb. Chr. p. 223.*) and the same is expressly affirm'd by XIPHILIN and NICEPHORUS. VALESIIUS, tho an Advocate for the Miracle, suspects the Truth of the Circumstance, which is indeed very unlikely on all Accounts.

First, 'TIS improbable that the Christians, in that Age, were so numerous as to furnish the Army with whole Legions. What TERTULLIAN says of their numbers thirty Years afterward, (*in Apol. c. 37.*) is only a Flight of his *African*
Elo-

the Thundering Legion. 83

Eloquence ; as Bishop BURNET observes in his Letters. And it appears by the Estimate the Bishop has made of their numbers, seventy Years after the Death of ANTONINUS, and after a long Toleration, that they did not exceed the fortieth part of the Inhabitants, even in *Rome* it self, which was the head Quarters of Christianity. And their numbers were much less, in proportion, in the Country Villages, where the Legions were commonly rais'd and recruited, (*Veget. i. 3.*) Christianity chiefly flourishing in the great Towns, and Paganism prevailing in the Country ; from whence it took its Name, after 'twas quite lost in the Cities.

THIS single Circumstance is to me as hard of Digestion as the main Story it self. Was it the Effect of Chance or of Design ? Is it likely that Chance, from so many millions of Heathens, shou'd single out six thousand Christians, and throw them all into a Body ? Is it probable that the Emperor wou'd trust Arms in the hands of such a Body of Men, whose Religion he was resolv'd to ruin ? And 'tis equally absurd to imagine, that

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the Christians wou'd shew such Zeal for
the Service of a persecuting Prince.

I AM so far from believing that there
was a Legion of Christians, that I think
it highly probable, from the Principles and
Practice of that Age, that there were
few or none at all in the Army.

'TIS plain from ATHENAGORAS,
(c. 30.) that the Christians of that Age
had such an Abhorrence, of Murder and
Bloodshed, that they declin'd appearing at
the Execution of Malefactors, how justly
foever they suffer'd; and 'twas for that
Reason, among others, they shunn'd the
bloody Shows of the *Gladiators* and
Bestiarii. The same is confirm'd by
THEOPHILUS ANTIOCH. (*ad Autol.* l. iii.)
and MINUTIUS FELIX expressly says,
Nobis homicidium nec videre fas est. The
two first of these Authors, most certainly,
flourish'd in the Reign of ANTONINUS;
and the Age of MINUTIUS, tho less cer-
tain, has been fix'd, with great Probability,
to the latter end of the same Reign, by
Mr. DODWELL, (*de paucit. Martyr.* c.)
Nor can that be call'd the private Sense
of

of some Doctors of that Age. I'm sure they represent it as the current Principle and Practice of the whole Christian Church, in Apologies address'd to the Heathen Emperors themselves. And, if this be true, can you imagine the Christians wou'd in-roll themselves in the Armies, and turn Actors of what they abhorr'd to be Spectators? As a further Proof of this matter, CELSUS, a Pagan Writer of the same Age, makes it one of his Charges against the Christians, that they refus'd to bear Arms for the Emperor; which ORIGEN owns and justifies, (*contra Cels.* l. viii. p. 426, 7.) So that, considering the passive Principles of that Age, I wou'd as soon believe my Lord MARLBOROUGH had a whole Regiment of Quakers in his Army, as that ANTONINUS had a whole Legion of Christians in his.

AND there is little Reason to wonder at this Practice in that innocent and severe Age of Christianity, if we consider the gross Idolatry and Superstition of the *Roman* Armies, which 'twas impossible for the Soldiers to avoid complying with.

IN the first place, the military Oath, like all other Heathen ones, was flat Idolatry ; and for this I refer you to *Tertul. de Corona*, c. 11. & *de Idol.* c. 19, 20, 21. In the next place, their Standards were all Gods, and had divine Honours paid them. The Soldiers swore by them, and preferr'd them to all their other Divinities, (*Tertul. Apol.* c. 16.) TACITUS styles them *Bellorum Dii*, (*Hist.* iii. 10.) *Legionum Numina*, (*Ann.* ii. 17.) The same is confirm'd by LIVY, (xxvi. 48.) by LUCAN, (i. 347.) *Hist. Tripart.* (i. 5.) Nor was this all ; for the Images of the Emperors were either fixt aloft upon the Standards, or plac'd in the midst of them at the General's head Quarters in the Camp, to be ador'd by the Army, *Singuli venerantur*, (*Modestus de re militari.*) *Herodian.* viii. 15. *Tacit. Hist.* i. 41. *Ann.* iv. 2. *Veget.* ii. 6. *Suet. in Tiberio*, c. 48. in *Calig.* c. 14. And can you imagine that the Conscience of a good Christian wou'd give him leave to march under such Idolatrous and Antichristian Banners, the *Vexilla amula Christi*, as TERTULLIAN justly styles them ? *de Corona milit.* c. 11.

From

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From what I have said, it seems pretty plain, that the entrance into the Armies was guarded by so many Pagan Oaths and Tests, that 'twas impossible for a Christian to serve in them unless 'twere by the help of *Occasional Conformity*. At least, in such a Case, you'll allow me, that the Prayers of such mock Christians wou'd hardly work Wonders: And for my part, if I believ'd the Miracle, I wou'd much rather impute it, with CLAUDIAN, to the Virtues of ANTONINUS.

—*Omne Tonantis*

Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

(Ad. 6. Conf. Hon.)

BUT the Argument, as I have urg'd it, is much stronger under a persecuting Reign, as ANTONINUS's most certainly was. In the third, and beginning of the fourth Century, when the Severity of the Christian Discipline began to slacken, and greater Liberties were allow'd, there is frequent mention made of Christian Soldiers; but 'tis very remarkable, that in the Persecutions which broke out after that time, the first Storm was sure to fall on the Army.

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Of this we have a signal Instance under SEVERUS, when a Soldier was punish'd for no other Crime but owning himself a Christian, which was the Prelude and leading step to the Persecution which immediately follow'd, (*Tertul. de Corona*, c. 1.) The Soldiers likewise felt the first Fury of the Persecution under DIOCLESIAN; all that refus'd to sacrifice to the Heathen Gods being broke and turn'd out of the Army, (*Lactant. de mort. Pers.* 9. *Euseb. Chron.*) And the Persecution of LICINIUS first began with the Soldiers; and also under JULIAN, (*Sulpic. Sever.* l. ii. c. 47.) So that if the Christians, for Reasons of State, which are very obvious, were not suffer'd to bear Arms under persecuting Reigns, 'tis plain there cou'd be none in the Army of ANTONINUS, whose whole Reign was one continu'd Persecution.

NOR is this Particular, of a whole Legion of Christians, confirm'd by the other Christian Writers that relate this Miracle. There is nothing like it in TERTULLIAN, OROSIUS, or the ALEXANDRIAN Chronicle; and the same is expressly

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preſſy contradicted by PAUL DIACONUS, and the Author of the ſpurious Ediſt publiſh'd at the end of JUSTIN MARTYR's ſecond Apology. And don't you think the diſagreement of the Chriſtian Writers, in ſo remarkable a Circumſtance of the Story, a good Argument of the Falſhood of the whole ?

TO ſum up the Argument in few Words, conſidering the numbers of the Chriſtians were not great in that Age; eſpecially in the Country Villages, where the Legions were rais'd; together with their paſſive Principles, the Teſtimony of CELSUS, and the groſs Idolatry of the *Roman* Armies, eſpecially in a perſecuting Reign; and the diſagreement of Chriſtian Writers on this head; it ſeems very probable that there were few or no Chriſtians, much leſs an entire Legion of them, in the Army. I ſhall now proceed to

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ARTICLE II.

That the Thundering Legion did not take its Name from this Miracle.

EUSEBIUS affirms, that the *Melitenian* Legion, from this Event, was firnam'd the *Thundering Legion*. But who ever heard of this *Melitenian* Legion before or after? Was it ever mention'd by any Historian, Inscription, or Medal? You may consult SCALIGER and VALESIIUS on this head, to whom I refer you. The last has very happily accounted for the rise of this Mistake in EUSEBIUS. Nor did the *Thundering Legion* take its Name from this Miracle, as APOLLINARIS pretends. 'Tis certain from the *Trieste* Inscription, cited by SCALIGER, (*ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 223.) that the *Thundering Legion* was as old as the days of TRAJAN; and it appears from DIO CASSIUS, (*l. 55. p. 568.*) that there was a *Thundering Legion* as high as the Reign of AUGUSTUS: And from both these Testimonies, 'tis very plain that APOLLINARIS, the
first

first Broacher of the Miracle, was grossly mistaken, to say no worse.

A R T I C L E III.

*That ANTONINUS never ascrib'd
this Miracle to the Prayers of
the Christians.*

HAD this Miracle been publickly own'd by the Emperor, and ascrib'd to the Prayers of the Christians, 'tis incredible that all the Pagan Historians shou'd, with one consent, conspire to disown it in their Writings, as EUSEBIUS confesses they did. See *Dio Cass. l. lxxi. p. 805. Capitol. in Anton. c. 24.* the nameless Authors cited by SUIDAS in *ἀγνῶστους*. Nor wou'd THEMISTIUS, (*de regia virtute ad Theod.*) and CLAUDIAN (*in 6m Cons. Honor.*) have dar'd to ascribe the Honour of it to Heathen Gods, in Panegyricks inscrib'd to Christian Emperors.

THAT ANTONINUS thought himself oblig'd to his own Gods for this Miracle, we have a Testimony beyond Exception in his own Pillar, which is still extant at
Rome ;

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Rome; of which I have seen a Cut in BARONIUS's Annals, to whom I refer you for your farther Satisfaction. The same is confirm'd by a Medal in the *French* King's Cabinet, publish'd by MORELLI; which was struck the very Year this Miracle was said to be wrought, (*viz.* 174.) On one side is the Head of ANTONINE, crown'd with Laurel; on the reverse, a *Mercury*, with this Inscription, *Religio Augusti*, which exactly agrees with DIO's Account of the Miracle. What shall we say then? shall we charge ANTONINUS with Ignorance, in not knowing that the Merit of this Miracle was owing to the Christians? But that's impossible; for he was present upon the Spot. Shall we suspect his Candor and Sincerity? That wou'd ill suit with the Character of that excellent Prince, whom I esteem one of the best and wisest of mortal Men.

A R-

A R T I C L E IV.

That ANTONINUS, after this pretended Miracle, never publish'd any Edict in favour of the Christians.

IF ANTONINUS did not ascribe this Miracle to the Christians, 'tis plain he cou'd publish no Edict in their favour on that Account ; and 'tis very remarkable, that none of the Writers who relate this Miracle pretend to have seen the Edict publish'd by ANTONINUS, in favour of the Christians, after this Deliverance. SCALIGER thinks it may fairly be inferr'd from TERTULLIAN'S Words, that he never saw it. As for OROSIUS and XI-PHILIN, 'tis plain they never did ; and the Epistle of ANTONINUS, publish'd at the end of JUSTIN MARTYR'S second Apology, has been prov'd so errant a Forgery by SCALIGER, (*ad Euseb. Chron.* p. 223.) that it has been given up, with one consent, by all the Advocates for the Miracle.

LAN.

*L*ANGIUS (*ad Niceph. iv. 12.*) and PAMEL. (*ad Tertul. Apol. 6.*) pretend to find some Traces of this Edict in a Constitution of VERUS and ANTONINUS, cited by ULPIAN. The same is affirm'd by SYLBURGIUS, in his Notes on ANTONINE'S Epistle, publish'd with JUSTIN MARTYR'S Apologies.

BUT all this is a most miserable Mistake. In the first place, that Edict does not regard the Christians. In the next place, 'twas impossible for VERUS, who dy'd *A.C. 169*, to publish an Edict, which bore relation to a Miracle that happen'd *A.C. 174*. But what is worst of all, that Edict was not publish'd (as they pretend) by VERUS and ANTONINUS, but by SEVERUS and ANTONINUS CARACALLA his Son and Partner in the Empire, as you may see in *Digest. l. 50. tit. 2. Sect. 3. p. 876. Edit. Amstelod.* But I have still a far better Argument behind, to prove there was no such Edict ever publish'd by ANTONINUS, and that is the bloody Persecution of the Christians, which broke out in *Gaul A.C. 177*. but three Years after the Date of
the

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the Miracle. 'Tis in vain for the Patrons of this Miracle to pretend that this Persecution was rais'd by the Rage of popular Tumults, and the Cruelty of provincial Governors, in defiance of the imperial Edicts. All the World knows that ANTONINUS was obey'd at another rate. But to set this matter beyond all Dispute, we have the positive Testimony of EUSEBIUS, (*Hist. Eccl.* v. i.) that the Martyrs of *Gaul* suffer'd by the express Command of the Emperor.

THAT there was a Persecution of the Christians by ANTONINUS, after this Miracle, appears from the Testimony of *Theoph. ad Autol.* in the very Conclusion of his Apology; which was written in the beginning of the Reign of COMMODUS, as may be easily inferr'd from some notes of Time in his third Book. He there mentions the Death of ANTONINUS, and says the Persecution still continu'd. The *Alexandrian* Chronology says, the Persecution ended in the first Year of COMMODUS; and consequently THEOPHILUS wrote his Apology that very Year, in the Interval between the

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Accession of *COMMODOUS* to the Crown,
and the stop which was put to the Per-
secution.

FROM what I have said, 'tis very plain that the Christians were persecuted by *ANTONINUS* after this Miracle: And this Argument alone appears to me to be an unanswerable Demonstration of the Folly and Falshood of this imaginary Edict, and the whole Story it self. I appeal to all Mankind, whether 'tis reasonable to believe that the Emperor wou'd have commanded, or suffer'd such Severities to have been acted against the Christians, if their Prayers had so miraculously preserv'd himself, his Army, and his Empire. Human Nature is not capable of such Ingratitude, such black and barbarous Usage, much less the generous Disposition of *ANTONINUS*. I might safely rest the whole Cause on the single Strength of this Article, but I shall proceed to

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A R T I C L E V.

That the Christians in general did not believe this Miracle, notwithstanding the Testimony of APOLLINARIS and TERTULLIAN.

FOR this no better Argument can be alledg'd, than the silence of all the Christian Writers of the third Century; not one of whom, except TERTULLIAN, that I ever read or heard of, has made the least mention of this Miracle. Is it possible that so signal a Testimony, in favour of Christianity, cou'd escape the Knowledge and Industry of so many able Apologists, as wrote after TERTULLIAN? Cou'd they have fail'd to urge so strong an Argument against the Heathens, as a Miracle so publickly vouch'd and attested, and own'd, as is pretended, by Imperial Edicts? No other rational Account can be given for their Silence, but that they gave no Credit to the Story, and were too wise to expose their Religion to the Scorn

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of the Heathens, by imploying so mean an Artifice to support it.

HAD this Miracle been generally believ'd in the fourth and beginning of the fifth Century, THEMISTIUS and CLAUDIAN, tho both Pagans, were too good Courtiers to assert the contrary in Panegyricks on Christian Emperors; especially CLAUDIAN, who, notwithstanding his own Religion, made no scruple to compliment HONORIUS on a Christian Miracle, to which the Heathens never laid claim, (*in 3 Consul. Honor.*) EUSEBIUS, tho he has given a full relation of the Miracle in all its Circumstances, yet it appears plainly, by the close of his Narration, that he did not believe it, as VALESIIUS rightly observes. So that the whole Credit of this Miracle rests on the Authority of APOLLINARIS and TERTULLIAN. As for the first, I know little of his Character; his Works, I think, being all lost. But 'tis remarkable, that the only Particular which is preserv'd of his Relation is undoubtedly false. TERTULLIAN wanted neither Wit nor Learning, but he must be allow'd to be a very credulous

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dulous Writer, and an errant Enthusiast; of which I need produce no other Proof than his believing the Prophecies of the *Montanists*, who were near a-kin to our new Prophets.

A R T I C L E VI.

That the Deliverance of the Roman Army, tho undoubtedly true, was no Miracle.

I SEE nothing supernatural in this Deliverance of the *Romans*. Thunder and Rain are no Miracles, and they are never the less natural for happening in so critical a Season. There are Examples enough in the *Greek* and *Roman* Story of such casual Events, which, because they were a little uncommon and surprizing, and fell out in seasonable Junctures of time, have been styl'd Miracles by the Ignorance and Superstition of the vulgar. *Dionys. Halicarnass.* l. vii. tells us, that 'twas by the help of such a miraculous Storm that the *Tuscan* Army was ruin'd by the *Cumæans*. 'Twas by such another Miracle, that BRENNUS was driven from the Temple

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of *Delphi*, (*Pausanias* l. x. p. 652, 3. *Justin* xxiv. 8.) and HANNIBAL from the Walls of *Rome*, (*Liv.* xxvi. 11. *Sil. Ital.* l. xii.) The escape of the *Roman* Army in the Desarts of *Africa*, under the Reign of CLAUDIUS, was every whit as extraordinary (*Dio Cass.* l. lx. p. 671.) And the Storm of Wind which gave THEODOSIUS the Victory over EUGENIUS, is cry'd up for a Miracle by all the Church Historians of the Age, and by CLAUDIAN, tho a Pagan, (*in 3 Conf. Honor.*) These Facts are all very well attested, and have as fair a Pretence to pass for Miracles, as the present one we are now treating of; which I presume is an Honour you will hardly allow them.

SINCE we are upon the Subject of Miracles, I can't help adding a few Remarks on this head, in confirmation of what I have advanc'd. When the Truth of our Religion had been confirm'd by so many signal Miracles, which were never disown'd by the Heathens themselves, it quickly triumph'd over all Opposition, and spread with a wonderful Progress over all Parts of the *Roman* Empire. When
Christianity

Christianity had gain'd such footing in the World, the Work was half done, and the rest might be safely trusted to the Preaching of our Ministers and the Sufferings of our Martyrs: and the ends of Miracles being fully accomplish'd, 'twas high time for Miracles themselves to cease; for God Almighty never wastes them in vain. This Notion I take to be very agreeable to the general Sense of the Protestant Divines, and for this Reason I give little Credit to any Miracles since the Days of the Apostles. I am loth, I confess, to reject all, without reserve, for the sake of a very remarkable one which happen'd at the rebuilding the Temple of *Jerusalem*, under JULIAN; which is so extraordinary in all its Circumstances, and so fully attested by all the Christian and Heathen Historians of that Age, that I don't see with what forehead any Man can question the Truth of it. Nor does this disagree with my Notion of Miracles; for perhaps from the very first rise of Christianity there never was greater need of a Miracle than at that juncture, when the World was relapsing apace into Idolatry: And peradventure God Almighty, in his infinite Wisdom,

thought it necessary to interpose in so miraculous a manner, to prevent the re-establishment of the *Jewish* Nation, that they might still continue Exiles and Fugitives, scorn'd and abhorr'd by all Mankind, and remain a lasting Monument of Divine Vengeance.

I EASILY foresee one Objection you will make to all I have said on this Subject. If this Miracle be a Lye, how came it to be first invented and believ'd? How ill does such a Forgery suit with the Character of the Primitive Church, so justly fam'd for Candour and Simplicity, and all other moral Virtues?

TO this I'll give you an Answer, when you'll please to account for all the other Forgeries of those Ages; for the Story of AGBARUS, and SIMON MAGUS, for CONSTANTINE'S $\times$ in the Air, the *Sybilline* Oracles, the forg'd Testimony of JOSEPHUS, and an infinite number of false Gospels and Epistles father'd on the Apostles and Evangelists. All I shall answer at present is, that tho the Primitive Christians in general liv'd up to the full
Rules

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Rules of their Religion, with the utmost Probity and Innocence of Manners, yet 'tis too certain that there were some Persons among them, who, thro a mistaken Zeal, made no scruple of lying for the Honour of their Religion. Their Fictions found an easy Reception in a credulous Age, and were convey'd down to Posterity, as certain and undoubted Truths.

I HAVE now finish'd my Discourse ; and, if after all the Pains I have taken, you still resolve to believe the Miracle of the *Thundering Legion*, I wish you no greater Penance, than that you may believe the Martyrdom of the *Theban*.

W. M.

Mr. K——'s Answer.

S I R,

I HAVE attentively perus'd your most accurate Disquisition of the Story of the Thundering Legion, and it gives me this particular Satisfaction, that now I know the utmost Efforts the Wit of Man can make to invalidate the Truth of it. You have so critically examin'd every Circumstance of the Relation by EUSEBIUS, and gone so nigh to prove it false, that if I am convinc'd by your Arguments, and must yield my assent to what you say, I shall, however, have this for my comfort, that I han't been led by a blind Submission, but by the inducement of specious Reasons. But before I wholly acquiesce, I hope you will pardon me, if I examine, with a friendly Freedom, every Article of your Discourse, that you may obtain the more honourable Victory, if I am overcome, and I may have an opportunity of quitting my Belief of the Story with a more decent Surrender.

TO

TO begin then, and go on, (as you have done) with an Induction of Particulars, the surest way to trace out the footsteps of Truth, I shall examine your Discourse on

A R T I C L E I.

That there was not an entire Legion of Christians in the Army of ANTONINUS.

THO I agree with you in general that 'tis improbable there was an entire Legion of Christians in ANTONINE'S Army, it being a thing equally difficult to believe, whether we consider it as the Effect of Chance or Design; yet I can by no means allow your Argument from the paucity of Christians in that Age, as that they were not so numerous as to furnish the Army with whole Legions: For, if they were so numerous in the Reigns immediately before and after ANTONINE, as to over-run both Cities and Countries, and to endanger them with dispeopling if destroy'd, 'tis unreasonable
to

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to conclude that they were so few in number, in his Reign, as not to be sufficient to complete whole Legions; especially after the Encouragements that were given for Conversion to Christianity by the Rescripts and Edicts which were publish'd in their favour by the preceding Emperors to ANTONINUS. Plin. Epist. l. x. ep. 97, 98. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 9, 13. l. vi. c. 43. Tertull. Apol. as you quote him, and ad Scap. iv. But TERTULLIAN's Authority you won't allow of; and why? Is it because he so plainly and positively asserts the vast multitude of Christians which fill'd all Places; and that publickly, to the face of the Roman Governors, who cou'd not be ignorant of the Truth of what he said? nor durst he, before them, to affirm what was not true: If he had, it wou'd rather have increas'd their Spleen, than mitigated their Anger. But this surely is not agreeable to your Candor, to deny a plain matter of fact, so fairly and openly attested. No, a great Man, I find, has overborn your Opinion of TERTULLIAN, by the weight of his Words, who says, "The numbers he speaks of, is only a flight of his African Eloquence; for the Christians about
" forty

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*“ forty Years after this did not exceed
“ the fortieth Part of the Inhabitants of
“ Rome, the head Quarters of Christia-
“ nity.” But I think the African is suf-
ficiently justify’d by PLINY’s Evidence (as
above) when Christianity was in its In-
fancy, and Christians consequently fewer;
and is also strengthen’d by those Words in
LUCIAN’S Pseudomantis, viz. Ἀθῶν ἐμπε-
πλησθαι καὶ χριστιανῶν τὸν πόρον, p. 762. and by
the Authors who write of the Decian and
Dioclesian Persecutions, when almost whole
Cities and Countries were destroy’d. And
lastly, by several of the Christian Apo-
logists. The way the Bishop has taken to
estimate the number of Christians in
Rome, seems very precarious. It is found-
ed upon a Resolution to justify his Hypo-
thesis of the original of the Catacombs,
that they were an Heathen and not a
Christian Work; and accordingly the num-
ber of the latter must be lessen’d as much
as possible, to make them incapable of
such an Undertaking; and CORNELIUS
as well as TERTULLIAN’S Account of
the vast numbers of Christians in Rome
and Carthage, must be esteem’d only as
strains of Eloquence to serve a Party:
which*

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which is a Reflection very unbecoming one who has no positive Proof to back what he himself asserts, but a mere Conjecture of his own ; and unworthily made upon two such great Members of the Primitive Church, whereof one was a Martyr, and the other (at that time) a strenuous Defender of the Faith. Bishop PEARSON's Judgment of TERTULLIAN, I hope, will pass with you ; at least when it comes recommended by these Words of Bishop BURNET : " That his Discourse " on the Creed is the most perfect Work " we have. His Learning was the most " profound and exact, and he was equally " happy both in the force of his Argu- " ment and the plainness of his Express- " sions." On the thirty nine Articles, Pref. p. 5. This truly great Man says, That TERTULLIAN was a Person of Credit, being adedò gravis, adedò antiquus autor, & rerum Romanarum peritissimus, Opera Posthuma, p. 63, &c. After all, it is very strange that Rome, the head Quarters of Christianity, shou'd have so small a number of Christians, in proportion to the other Inhabitants there ; whereas Carthage, and the Countries of Bythinia, Pontus,

Pontus, Cappadocia, and Syria, with several other Parts of Asia, were almost peopled with Christians. But if the Bishop be right in his Assertion, then the head Quarters of Christianity must be somewhere else than at Rome, as I incline to believe; and that they were either at Antioch, where the name of Christians first began, or rather at Ephesus, where the last of the Apostles dy'd, and which was the Place of his Residence some time before; and to which he gives the Prebeminence, when he wrote to the seven Churches in Asia. To confirm me in this Opinion, Ulpian de Offic. Procon. c. 4. has this Passage, Præsides aut Proconsules in Asiam missos, debuissè Ephesum appellere: To which BALDWIN the Lawyer adds this Remark, Maxima tum erat Ephesi Ecclesia Christianorum; which time is very nigh seventy Years after the Death of ANTONINUS, when the Bishop's Calculation is fix'd. Moreover, it was either here, or in the neighbouring Cities, and Countries adjacent, that the most severe Persecutions began; and where all the Proconsuls, who procur'd Rescripts from the several Emperors TRA-

JAN,

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JAN, ADRIAN, and ANTONINUS PIUS, had their Residence. It was to the Christians of those Countries also, that St. PETER's Epistles, and two of St. PAUL's, were chiefly inscrib'd, and where they spent a great part of their Labours. So that all this put together, makes me conclude that the head Quarters of Christianity were more probably at Ephesus than at Rome; and that, tho Italy and its Villages cou'd not supply the Army with whole Legions, yet Asia and its Towns cou'd. And I can't acquiesce in what you urge, that their number was far less in proportion in the Country than in the Cities; for PLINY makes no difference, but uses the same Word to show that Christianity over-run both Country Villages and Cities. And tho Paganism, as you say, prevail'd in the Country, from whence it took its Name, yet I can't assent to you, that this was after it was quite lost in the Cities; for Rome and Athens were the two last Places belonging to the Roman Empire, where some Gentiles were to be found.

*IT can't be deny'd that the Primitive Christians abhorr'd Murder and Bloodshed, of what kind soever ; and 'tis very probable, from their passive Principles, that they were not very fond of going into the Army. Yet I am not altogether convinc'd that they held it wholly unlawful to serve their Princes in the Wars. For, in the New Testament, where mention is made of Soldiers, as it is in more Places than one, their Profession is never condemn'd as unlawful, but Doctrines are preach'd to them, and Rules given them to walk by, as continuing in the State of Warfare. ORIGEN, I confess, does not deny CELSUS's Charge on them : tho, indeed, I think it no Charge, but a bare Admonition to incite them strenuously to assist the Emperor in his just Wars ; which only supposes them backward in doing it, not that they wou'd refuse wholly to go to war. Whatever ORIGEN says in this place, in answer to CELSUS, he seems to allow of a lawful War, lib. iv. p. 217. But what if he did not ? must this be the general Opinion of the Christians of that Age ? 'Tis plain it was not, even by
your*

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*your own Words : For you say, " In the
 " third and (beginning of the) fourth Cen-
 " tury, when the Severity of the Christian
 " Discipline began to slacken, —there is
 " frequent mention made of Christian Sol-
 " diers." The Book you quote for this is
 Tertull. de Coron. which was written in
 the very beginning of the third Century, be-
 fore the Severity of the Christian Disci-
 pline was slacken'd, and not much above
 thirty Years after the Affair in debate was
 transacted. So that 'tis not much more im-
 probable that there shou'd be Christian Sol-
 diers in ANTONINUS's Army than in SE-
 VERUS's: nay, 'tis not impossible that some
 of the very same Men shou'd be in both
 Armies. There are other Authorities both
 of private Persons, and of the Church it
 self, to prove that War was allow'd of
 in that Age. CLEMENS ALEXANDRI-
 NUS describing the Habit of a Christian,
 says, Decere eum intactis pedibus (esse)
 nisi forte militet. And BASIL, speaking
 of the Primitive Christians, has these
 Words : τὰς ἐν πολέμοις φόνας οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς
 φόνοις ἐκ ἐλογίσαντο ἐμὲν δοκεῖν, συγγνώμην δόντες ὑπὲρ
 σφαγῶντος καὶ ἐυσέβειας ἀμυνόμενοι. That the
 Church allow'd it, is presum'd, because
 never*

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never any Soldiers were deny'd Baptism, nor excommunicated: nay, the Clementine Constitution, lib. viii. c. 32. directs how a Soldier is to be instructed at his Baptism. See Grot. de jure Belli, l. i. c. 2.

AND this leads me to consider your next Argument, taken from the Idolatry of the Roman Armies, to prove that few or no Christians were in that of ANTONINUS. You say, that the entrance into the Armies was guarded with idolatrous Oaths, and their Standards were all Gods, and had Divine Honours paid them: so that it was impossible for a Christian to serve in them, &c. This Objection is wholly new to me: not one Author that I have seen on that Subject has taken notice of it. And I must own it did at first shock my Belief of the Story: but on second thoughts I must crave leave to dissent from you, not being satisfy'd with that Argument as logical and conclusive; for you argue against matter of fact by a bare Supposition. You go to prove that Christians were not in the Army, because they must be guilty of Idolatry if they were: whereas you ought to reason from

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matters of fact. If Christians were in the Army, then they were not guilty of Idolatry. And that Christian Soldiers were in the Army within a few Years after ANTONINUS's Time, you your self acknowledge : And that they were not guilty of Idolatry, you give a good Reason to conclude from your own Remark, That in the Persecutions which broke out after that time, the first Storm was sure to fall on the Army. And a little farther you observe, the Soldiers felt the first Fury of the Persecution under DIO-CLESIAN ; all that refus'd to sacrifice to the Heathen Gods, &c. Now by what you say, 'tis plain they were in the Army some while before they were persecuted. And 'tis as plain they were persecuted for not being Idolaters. I will add, 'tis as plain the Church never thought them so, because they were never excommunicated, nor reckon'd among the Lapsi, nor deny'd Absolution, that we read of. So that it was not impossible for a Christian to be a Soldier, without mercenary temporizing, even in a time when Christian Discipline began to slacken, as you suppose : tho that, I think, does not appear till

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*till the Emperors turn'd Christian, and
the Bishops became Courtiers.*

*BUT are you sure, after all, that
the Soldier's Oath was entirely Pagan
at that time? Were they not permitted
to swear by the Safety of the Emperor,
as TERTULLIAN in Apolog. c. 3. or by
his Majesty, as VEGETIUS says? And
might they not be as free from Idolatry in
the Camp as in the Palace, which was
fill'd with Lares, and stuff'd with Hea-
thenish Superstition? And yet many
Christians were therein, even in NERO's
time, as St. PAUL testifies, in Epist. ad
Philip. Among whom was EPAPHRO-
DITUS, his fellow Prisoner, a very con-
siderable Person in that Court, as well
as in DOMITIAN's, under whom he suf-
fer'd Martyrdom. He was, in all proba-
bility, the Master of EPICETUS, and
the Patron of JOSEPHUS, to whom he
dedicates his Antiquities; (which, by the
by, gives me some reason to believe the
Passage concerning Christ not spurious.)
But to clear up this point, I have an
Instance (tho not in ANTONINUS's Ar-
my, yet in TIBERIUS's) which is full,*

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and to the purpose. It is CORNELIUS, a Centurion of the Italian Band ; which doubtless was a Roman and Pagan Legion. ACTS x. i. Hunc gentilem fuisse liquet, nec Italum fuisse, etiam ac Romanum, dubitant viri docti. SELDEN on the place, Militiam autem abdicasse, aut ad eam abdicandam a Petro monitus non legitur. GROTIUS, de jure Belli, l. i. c. 2. § 9. So that now I hope you will allow that a true Primitive Christian might be a Soldier, without the help of Occasional Conformity.

YOUR last Section on the first Article, concludes with this Observation, That this particular of a whole Legion of Christians is not confirm'd by the other Christian Writers of this Miracle ; and that their disagreement, &c. is a good Argument for the falshood of the whole. I don't find that any Author but XIPHILIN absolutely affirms the Soldiers of the Melitenian Legion to be all Christians. The Words in EUSEBIUS's History may be fairly interpreted, that some only of the Legion were Christians, and that on behalf of their Act, the whole might

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might be mention'd. EUSEBIUS, in his Chronicon, seems to countenance this, saying only the Army was sav'd by the Prayers of the Christians. But I think it not at all conclusive against the Truth of the Story, if the Authors don't exactly agree. There are several Instances of this kind in the Roman, as well as other Histories, where things are related different ways by several Authors, and yet the main true.

A R T I C L E II.

That the Thundering Legion did not take its Name from this Miracle.

THAT there was a Legion of that Name before this Miracle, I am fully satisfy'd from the Authors you quote; and that there were more than one I am convinc'd not only from Goltzii Numismata, where several are mention'd, but from the Notitia Imperii, where that in particular at Melitene is spoken of; which intimates that there was another twelfth Legion at some other place: For what

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else is that note of Distinction? Now, that this is the very same Legion which EUSEBIUS speaks of, I am persuaded by what DIO says, viz. That there was a Thundering Legion quarter'd in Cappadocia about his time, and by its being fix'd at Melitene (a Town of that Country) by the Notitia. And this will easily account for the Mistakes (if they be so) both of EUSEBIUS and APOLLINARIS. For since there was a Thundering Legion quarter'd at Melitene, and that a Thundering Legion which so miraculously obtain'd the Victory over the Quadi, one might very easily conjecture that before the Action it was call'd the Melitenian, and that from the Action it was nam'd the Thundering Legion. And that also will justify what I before suppos'd, that the head Quarters of Christianity were at Ephesus and the Country adjacent; where inhabited vast numbers of Christians, sufficient to supply the Armies with Legions. And I'm the more confirm'd in this Opinion, when I consider that nigh all the Apologists, JUSTIN MARTYR, MELITO, APOLLONIUS, &c. who address'd themselves to ANTONINUS,
were

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were Asiatics when they wrote their
Apologies.

A R T I C L E III.

That ANTONINUS never ascrib'd
this Miracle to the Prayers of the
Christians.

I MUST crave leave to disagree with
you, that 'tis incredible that all the
Pagan Historians shou'd, with one con-
sent, conspire to disown the Emperor's
ascribing the Miracle to the Prayers of
the Christians. They cou'd not do other-
wise whilst they remain'd Heathens. Had
they own'd the matter of fact, they must
have been convinc'd and converted to
Christianity, as TERTULLIAN, CY-
PRIAN, and others were, who had been
originally Heathens. But it was most
agreeable to the Spirit of Malignity that
possess'd the Gentiles against the Chris-
tians, not to suffer them to have any
share of the Honour of the Action, but
rather ascribe it to the Power of a Con-
jurer, tho so contrary to the Emperor's
own Principle of disregarding Wizards;

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or to the Piety of ANTONINUS, and the Providence of their Gods, as (in all probability) the Senate did; as appears by the Story cut in the Pillar erected in honour of ANTONINUS, and by the Medal they caus'd to be struck, in the Year the Miracle was wrought, without the least notice taken in either of the Christians Prayers. Tho, I am persuaded, the Emperor sent them a true Account of the matter of fact, not only by what TERTULLIAN says, but also by DIO's Words, τῇ μετὰ ἐπίστασιν, p. 806. ad finem: yet they thought not fit to preserve any publick Record whatever of it, lest it shou'd be too great a Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion, and too great a Blow to the Pagan. Their bitter Prejudice against the Christians was doubtless the occasion that neither this, nor any other publick Testimony for Christianity, was preserv'd. Nay, they were so far from acknowledging the least Benefit obtain'd, by means of the Christians, to the Commonwealth, that they imputed all the Evils which happen'd to them, and all the good things, procur'd by their Prayers, to JUPITER, as TERTULLIAN says,

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says, Invidia coelum tundimus, & cum misericordiam extorserimus, Jupiter honoratur, Apol. c. 40. of which, even this Story, as represented in the Pillar, is a flagrant Instance. MARCUS, I grant, was one of the best and greatest of Men in the Heathen World; yet it can't be deny'd but that he was a perfect Bigot in his way, which made him so obdurate against the many excellent Apologies presented him in behalf of the poor Christians, that he persecuted them with a relentless Severity, notwithstanding his celebrated Clemency. And I am apt to think, that altho he wrote to the Senate in favour of the Christians, yet his Pagan Zeal was so great, that he was solicitous for the Honour of his God JUPITER, that he shou'd have a share in the Glory of the Miracle, and that the World shou'd believe it so.

A R-

ARTICLE IV.

That ANTONINUS never publish'd, after this Miracle, any Edict in favour of the Christians.

I ENTIRELY acquiesce in what you say against LANGIUS and PAMELIUS, whose Opinion about the Edict, cited by ULPIAN, you have most effectually confuted: but I can't allow your next Argument to be so strong, as you imagine, to prove that Rescript of the Emperor's spurious. You urge for this, the bloody Persecution which broke out in Gaul, Anno 177, three Years after the Date of this Miracle. But I must crave leave to say, that the fact, as to the time, is not sufficiently prov'd. For this I must produce the Authorities of the Bishop of Worcester, and Mr. DODWELL, who are of opinion that the Persecution happen'd ten Years before, Anno 167. The Bishop, in a Letter to FR. PAGI, on his Critic. ad Baronium, ad Ann. 177. observes that EUSEBIUS has made two different Dates of the Persecution. In his Chron. he
has

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has set it 167, and in his History 177. The Reason of this Alteration was, that he might make it suit with the Age of Pope ELEUTHERUS, who, according to him, was not Pope till the Year 177: Wherein, says the Bishop, EUSEBIUS was mistaken; for ELEUTHERUS was Pope in 167, and consequently the first Date of the Persecution was right. According to Mr. DODWELL, it might happen in 177; because 167 was the Year wherein the Drusian Games (which were quadriennial) were solemniz'd at Lyons, which they were not in 177: And yet the Confessors, in their Letter, say it happen'd during that Solemnity. Now to prove this Assertion, he says, that the time calculated from the first Institution of those Games, A. U. C. 744, to A. U. C. 920, which is A. C. 167, exactly agrees with this Year, in which they were celebrated, and consequently were not celebrated in Anno 177. So that from what those two great Men say, we may conclude that the Argument from the Persecution does not lessen the certainty of the Miracle.

THE

THE Alexandrian Chronicon I have not seen; but the Passage in Theophilus Antiochenus I have: And it does not by that appear that ANTONINUS's Persecution continu'd, but 'tis probable that the Gentiles, upon the Death of that Emperor, began afresh to fall on the Christians, the Authority of his Edict ceasing with him, as they supposed; which, however, did not, as they were convinc'd within a little time after, by the Punishment of one, who had accus'd APOLLONIUS, a Senator, of being a Christian, Euseb. l. v. c. 2. which is both a notable Proof of the Reality, and a remarkable Instance of the Sanction of that Edict.

AS to your Appeal against the Unreasonableness of believing that ANTONINUS cou'd be capable of treating the Christians severely, after they had miraculously sav'd him by their Prayers. I have this to answer, that his usage of them before the Miracle, was almost as unaccountable and barbarous, as this wou'd have been after, supposing it to be done. For can any Man of Impartiality and Candor

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Candor, imagine that a Person of such profound Knowledge, Goodness and Humanity, as the Writers of MARCUS's Life represent him, and his own Works shew him to be, cou'd so inhumanly butcher so many innocent Christians, who never so much as disobey'd or rebell'd against him, by any account that appears to the World; and that too after his three Predecessors had most graciously protected them by their Rescripts and Edicts? If you have any other Apology to make for him than his vehement Zeal for his own Superstition, (for I can call it no other) I wou'd fain know it: And if you have not, you may as well vindicate the Sicilian Vespers, or the Parisian Massacre.

A R-

ARTICLE V.

That the Christians in general did not believe this Miracle, notwithstanding the Testimony of APOLLINARIS and TERTULLIAN.

THE Silence of the Christian Writers of the third Century is not an undeniable Argument that they disbeliev'd the Miracle ; for tho' their Books which are now extant mention nothing of it, yet those that are lost might. That it was related by other Authors than are now in being, is plain from EUSEBIUS, who says, that not only the Gentile Writers of the Age when the Fact was done, but the Christians also writ of it : and that, he adds, with Simplicity and Integrity ; amongst whom was APOLLINARIS. Besides, the relation of the Fact by XIPHILIN, OROSIUS, and GREGORY NYSEN, are certainly taken out of other Authors than are now extant. So that I dare say there was not so great a Silence as you suppose, at the time when all the

the Works of the Primitive Writers were to be found.

THE two Heathens, THEMISTIUS and CLAUDIAN, tho they were good Courtiers, yet were too Zealous for the Honour of their own Religion to yield the Glory of the Miracle to a Parcel of poor despis'd Christians, when they had so fit an Opportunity of complimenting their Princes, in their Panegyricks, with a parallel of their Virtues in ANTONINUS; that Emperor being the Standard of Virtue to all succeeding Ages of the Empire. I can't think that EUSEBIUS, who (you own) has given a full Relation of the Miracle in all its Circumstances, cou'd be so disingenuous as to palm upon the World a Story that he did not believe himself, as you say VALESIUS rightly observes; and yet an Advocate for the Miracle, whilst undermining the Foundation of it; which truly is not so ingenuous. How much more handsome wou'd it have been for that great Critick, like you, freely to have declar'd his real Sentiments of the Story, than to smother them in such Expressions

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sions as give umbrage to suspect his Belief of it? 'Tis a Proof to me (what-ever that great Man says) that EUSEBIUS did believe the Miracle, both because he acknowledges that the Christian Writers, being Lovers of Truth, related the Fact after a plain and honest manner; and that the Rescript of the Emperor took effect in the Punishment of APOLLONIUS's Accuser, (as mention'd above) which Martyr's Trial and Apology he had then in his Custody. APOLLINARIS does not deserve so severe a Censure as you pass on him, if you credit EUSEBIUS in the Passage just now quoted, and another lib. iv. c. 26. where he joins him with MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, in this short Character, διαπεπαισμενος. And PHOTIUS says, he was much to be esteem'd on the account of his Doctrine and Style. That TERTULLIAN was an Enthusiast in the latter part of his Life, I don't deny; but that he was not sound and orthodox in his Faith, and of good Credit and Reputation when he wrote his Apology, you are the first Person I have met with who insinuates. He was as much run down by TAN. FABER for

TIBERIUS's *Message to the Senate concerning Christ*, (*a Passage just before this we are upon.*) But the sagacious PEARSON has abundantly confuted and expos'd the crowing Critick, as altogether ignorant of what TIBERIUS, the Senate, and TERTULLIAN meant.

ARTICLE VI.

That the Deliverance of the Roman Army, tho undoubtedly true, is no Miracle.

THAT Thunder and Rain are no Miracles, I grant; nay, tho they sometimes happen in a critical Season: But that they are never miraculous, and that there was nothing wonderful in the Deliverance, I can't believe. If it be undoubtedly true that they were deliver'd, the great Pains the Heathens took to carry off the Honour of this miraculous Event, proves thus much at least, That we have no reason to question the matter of fact as extraordinary. How comes it else that they have so industriously endeavour'd to hand down to Posterity, by

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several kinds of Monuments, such notorious Accounts of it, as we meet with in Books, Pillars, Pictures, and Medals? Wou'd all sorts of Authors, Historians, Orators and Poets, think you, consent to impose upon the World a Story as miraculous, when there was nothing wondrous in it? Wou'd Prince and Senate, do you believe, unite in the Imposition? Or can you imagine that both Christians and Pagans wou'd agree in the Forgery, and only contest for the Prerogative of the Miracle? You may relate other Stories very strange and surprizing to countervail this, which might not indeed be reckon'd miraculous by the Wise, and only styl'd so by the Ignorance and Superstition of the Vulgar; but give me leave to say that this Event is esteem'd by the Learned alone miraculous. And I know of no Man before your self, but Mr. LARROQUE, who has wholly disbeliev'd the wondrous Part, and barely own'd the Victory. I wou'd not have you think that 'tis the Vulgar alone judge such Effects as these miraculous; for 'tis apparent, as Archbishop TILLOTSON observes, in his Sermon on Ecclesiastes ix. 11.

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that even the Heathen did always acknowledge a special Interposition of Fortune, by which the Wiser among them did understand the Divine Providence: to confirm which, he quotes PLUTARCH, LIVY, and CÆSAR, who, tho perhaps the most skilful and prosperous Warriour that ever was, makes this acknowledgment, That, as in all other things, so particularly in War, Fortune hath a huge Sway, Folio Sermon xxxvi. p. 436. There are many Particulars in the Stories of CYRUS, ALEXANDER, and the Romans, which are very unaccountable, tho scarce taken notice of by such as are not conversant with the Scriptures, where they are often discover'd to be the wonderful Issues of Providence. What do you think of that Expression in Judges, of the Stars fighting in their Courses against SISERA? Don't you understand by it a remarkable Defeat of that General, by a visible Hand from Heaven, in causing mighty and sudden Rains to fall; which the common Opinion did ascribe to a special Influence of the Planets, by means of which the River Kishon was swell'n to that degree as to sweep away

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a great part of SISERA's Army? This is such a parallel with the Fact we are upon, that I cannot but believe that the same Heavenly Bodies which influenc'd the Victory of DEBORAH and BARAK over the Canaanites, did also contribute in a wonderful manner to the overthrow of the Quadi by ANTONINUS: the same Almighty Providence over-ruling the Instruments of both these famous Actions. I cou'd wish the latter of those, as severally related by Christian and Pagan Authors, was drawn up in two Columns; then wou'd you see how they all agree in the Miraculousness of the Fact, tho they disagree in the Circumstances.

I WAS mightily pleas'd with your Discourse in your next Section, about the Confirmation of the Truth of our Religion by Miracles, till you went so far as to determine when 'twas high time for them to cease, and when they were wasted in vain; and that you shou'd say, you gave little Credit to any Miracles since the Days of the Apostles. As for the Times and Seasons of God Almighty's acting in an extraordinary manner, he has
put

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put them wholly under the secret Counsel of his own unsearchable Will, and left nothing for us to determine; and he knows best the proper Time of working a Miracle: And when he thinks fit to give such a Demonstration of his Power, we ought to conclude it was done for a very good Reason, tho we may not be able to discover what it was. As for his wasting Miracles in vain, I must use the liberty to tell you, it is a Term infinitely disagreeing with the Notion we ought to have of the inexhaustible Store and Plenitude of the Divine Power: Besides, the allowing of one Miracle in an Age, can't be reckon'd a wasting in vain. Nor wou'd it be more unreasonable to acknowledge this Miracle in the Life of ANTONINUS, than to approve of that which was done in JULIAN's Reign, except it be for the sake of an Emperor's Testimony, which you won't allow this to have, tho I think this has as many concurrant Witnesses, both of Gentiles and Christians, as the other. Nor was the juncture much less seasonable; for at that time the Example of ANTONINUS's personal Virtues, and his Care to encourage and pro-

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mote the virtuous and learned Heathens, and to discountenance the Christians, were not much inferior to JULIAN's Wiles in undermining Christianity. The Reason which you give for this Miracle is very good, tho not the chief and immediate; which was this: Our Saviour having foretold that not one Stone of the Temple shou'd be left upon another, JULIAN, according to the propense Malice he burn'd with against Christ, was resolv'd, if possible, to defeat the Prediction, and prove him a false Prophet: whereupon he did both incite and assist the Jews (tho bitter Enemies) to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem. But the Providence of God, which turns the Counsels of the Wise into Foolishness, and which never fails, in its good time, to destroy all Machinations of Men against the Truth, (as HOBBS himself confesses) did counterplot the Projects of this cunning Politician, and made him the very Instrument of establishing the Truth of that Prophecy which he endeavour'd by his Projects to overturn. This puts me in mind of a remarkable Story I lately read in St. CHRYSOSTOM, contra Gentiles,
which

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which happen'd also in JULIAN's Reign. It is the burning of the Temple of APOLLO at Daphne, by Fire from Heaven, which is not only mention'd by Christian Writers, but by JULIAN in Mispog. and by LIBANIUS the Sophist, who made an Oration to the People of Antioch, on purpose to lament the loss of it. This Fact, as related both by LIBANIUS and CHRYSOSTOM, has very particular Circumstances to confirm its Reality. 'Twas done nigh the same time with the other, reported by Persons of different Religions, and perform'd by the Power of the same Element, in a most surprizing manner, from Heaven, tho not from the Earth as the other was. Perhaps you'll scruple the Belief of this Occurrence, as well as that in debate, and others of the like nature; because there is not altogether so full a Confirmation as the nicety of some Mens Faith may require. But with respect to such, I wou'd take the freedom to say, that to discredit well nigh all the Miracles since the Days of the Apostles, recorded in the Primitive Writers of the Church, is as great a Fault as to believe them all without reserve;

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the one indeed is Credulity which leads to Superstition, but the other is Scrupulosity which tends to Unbelief: Errors to be equally avoided by those who are Lovers of the Truth; for those who are so indeed, the Truth doth make them free, free both from Bigotry and Scepticism in Religion, and Partiality and Prejudice in Opinion; so that they are neither implicitly tenacious on the one hand, nor doubting of every thing on the other; neither over-fond of their own Conceits, nor blind and averse towards those of other Men; but as sincere Lovers of the Truth, very indifferent, so they possess it, whether it be by their own or any other's Discovery; and have no other Shyness about receiving it, but that they be not impos'd on, and take counterfeit, and what will not bear the Touch, for genuine and real Truth, but act according to the Divine Rule which came from the Father of Light and Truth, Try all things, hold fast that which is good. For indeed the Mind of Man evermore desires to know the Truth, according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield; and 'tis
hard

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hard to know what other way Men can come at Truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig for it as for Gold and hid Treasure, especially when bury'd in the rubbish of Antiquity. The latter part of this last Period, next to the Book of God, I must own my self indebted for to two of the greatest Men, in their way, which our Nation has produc'd, HOOKER and LOCKE. The one a Person of the largest Mind, clearest Thought, and strongest Reason, who wanted only a longer time to study the Scriptures to have made himself a complete Christian, and to have been, as the other was, of the most orthodox Faith, with the meekest Wisdom, and soundest Judgment; who had all the Piety and prudent Zeal of the Antients, and all the Accuracy and Solidity of the Moderns.

I HAVE but a Word or two more, and shall deliver you from the Fatigue of my Discourse. You have prepar'd an Objection for me, which I shan't use; for I won't suppose the Christians to be Forgers of the Miracle. Quite otherwise, if it is a Lye, as I think it not,
the

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the Gentiles were alone the Forgers; because they are so particular in the Account, and so disagreeing in the Cause of it. The flattering Orators attribute it to MARCUS's Piety, the Historians to the Power of Magick; whereas all the Christian Writers agree in ascribing it to the Prayers of the Christian Soldiers. But since both Heathens and Christians, with one consent, own the Fact miraculous (as I have before observ'd) I can't see what Reason we have to disagree with them, seeing we are so much farther distant from knowing the Truth of it; and since it was never question'd in all the Ages before us, as it wou'd have been in the first Ages, had the matter of fact been false, which I verily believe it was not, both from what has been before said, and from the Pagans owning it to be done by the Chaldaean Magick, and Carminibus, and Consecration, as CLAUDIAN and LAMPRIIDIUS: by which nothing else is meant but the Prayers and Hymns of the Christians, which they made use of to obtain that memorable Assistance from Heaven, whereby themselves were refresh'd and their Enemies overcome. But what is this

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this Chaldæan Magick, you'll say, to Christians? 'Tis notorious the Gentiles commonly look'd upon them as Magicians, esteem'd them a Sect of the Jews, and often confounded them together. The Jews, you know, were frequently call'd Chaldæans, SOLOMON'S Proverbs was quoted as a Book of the Chaldees, and our Saviour styl'd Puer Chaldæus, in an Oracle produc'd (as I think) by PORPHYRY. So that I'm verily persuaded, it was the common Report that the Victory was obtain'd by the means of the Christians, whom the Gentiles maliciously nam'd Chaldæan Magicians.

AS for the other Stories, which you term the Forgeries of those Ages, particularly the Sibylline Oracles, and JOSEPHUS'S Testimony, all that I will say at present shall be in the Words of H. Vossius, de Sibyllinis Oraculis, where he also speaks of a certain Passage in Terull. Apolog. c. 5. Desinant itaq; hodierni Christiani veteribus illudere Christianis, eorumq; fugillare credulitatem. Si illos rideamus, meritò quoq; ipsos rideamus Prophetas, è quorum libris pleraq; hæc de-

deprompta fuere oracula. Sed profectò nullos Religio Christiana infensiores habet hostes, quam ipsos Christianos, cum vix illum apud antiquos de Christo aut vaticinium, aut testimonium invenias, quod non complures etiam doctissimi viri labefactare, aut etiam penitus evertere, fuerint conati, p. 260. *With which excellent Sentence I will shut up my Discourse, submitting it, with all its Errors and Imperfections (unto which I know my self but too subject) to the candid Judgment of a Person, who, as he is a diligent Searcher after Truth, so has he a tender Regard for all those who endeavour, tho by different ways, to find it; knowing that such evermore is the final Victory of Truth, that both Victors and Vanquish'd equally rejoice together in her glorious Triumph, Truth being their only aim.*

L E T.

L E T T E R II.

*Mr. MOYLE's Defence of the
first Article,*

*That there was not an intire Legion
of Christians in the Army of
ANTONINUS.*

S I R,

IN your Examination of the first Part of this Article, tho you are pleas'd to deny all my Premises, you are so kind as to grant my Conclusion.

THO by this Concession you have given up the only Point there contended for, and your Dispute on this head is at an end; yet since you have thought fit to step out of your way to consider so very minutely all the Proofs I had offer'd on that Subject, you will give me leave to follow your own Method, and to defend these Propositions on which my Conclusion, which you allow, is founded.

§ I. IN

§ 1. IN the first place, to prove the Christians of that Age more numerous than I suppose them, you produce the Authority of LUCIAN in his *Pseudomantis*, where 'tis said that PONTUS was fill'd with Atheists and Christians. By Atheists 'tis plain the Epicureans are meant, as appears from the foregoing Sentence, and from *p. 770. 4.* Now 'tis certain that the Epicureans were more numerous than any other Sect of Philosophers, as we are assur'd by CICERO, (*de Finibus* i. 7. l. ii. 14. *Tusc. Quæst.* i. 4. l. v. 10.) and 'tis no wonder, as CICERO says, that the Multitude gave into Principles so agreeable to Flesh and Blood. 'Tis as plain there were many of them in *Pontus* (*Lucian* ib. *p. 763.*) and that this Reflection was mainly levell'd at them, who, as LUCIAN assures us, (*p. 762, 3.*) were the most formidable Party the Impostor had to deal with. So that all you can infer from this Passage is, that there were many Epicureans and some Christians in *Pontus*. And after all, this is not said by LUCIAN but by the Impostor, who in all likelihood magnify'd the

the numbers of both, the more to inflame the Mob against them.

YOUR next Argument is drawn from PLINY, in his celebrated Epistle. I own that he seems at first sight to represent the Christians as a considerable Party in that part of *Bithynia* where he resided, tho upon trial he did not find their numbers so great as he expected. But does not TACITUS (*Ann.* xv. 44.) say the very same thing, that there was an *ingens multitudo* of Christians at *Rome* under NERO within thirty five Years after the Passion of our Saviour? where 'tis a jest to suppose them so numerous as to bear the least Proportion with the Heathens. This Passage of TACITUS is the best Comment on PLINY's Epistle. But indeed no certain Consequence can be drawn from Authors who write in such loose and general Terms, without laying down any certain Rules or Mediums by which we might guess at their Meanings. A great number is a relative Expression, and can never be understood in any positive or determinate Sense. These Authors might think their numbers great, in those Places,

in

in comparison of what they were in most other Places, or considering the late rise of their Religion ; or, which is most likely, they might think them many to abandon the establish'd Religion of the World. Of this kind I can produce you two parallel Instances, out of the most celebrated Writers of Antiquity, CICERO and LIVY ; and 'tis in this last Sense they are both to be understood. CICERO (*pro Flacco*, c. 28.) says there was a great Multitude of *Jews* at *Rome*, and that they bore such a sway in the popular Assemblies, that for fear of them he durst not speak out in defence of his Client ; and yet this mighty number, which must have very much increas'd by the Incouragement they all along receiv'd from CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS, did not, above fifty Years after, exceed eight thousand Persons ; as we are assur'd by JOSEPHUS, *Antiq.* xviii. 12. LIVY, in his Relation of the *Bacchanalia* at *Rome*, (l. xxxix.) makes the Discoverer and the Consul talk of the numbers that were initiated in these Mysteries in such high and extravagant Terms (*alter prope populus*, c. 13. 15, 16.) that one wou'd think half *Rome* had been ingag'd in the Faction ;

tion, yet he himself (*c.* 17.) owns they amounted to no more than seven thousand. Besides, great Abatements must be made for Rhetorical Flourishes, with which the best Writers are apt to adorn their Relations. 'Tis with these Allowances that PHILO, in his Embassy to CALIGULA, must be understood, where he says, as I remember, that half the World, in his time, were *Jews*; which is false and ridiculous, if we take it in the literal Sense of the Words.

§ 2. AS for your next Witness, TERTULLIAN, the Warmth of his Imagination carries him often into Hyperboles, and Strains of Rhetorick, which are apt to impose upon a Reader, who does not understand them with a Grain of Salt. He tells us, (*Apol. c.* 37.) “ that the Christians were far the greater Part of Mankind, that they fill'd the Court, the Camp, the Senate, &c.” It wou'd be endless to examine every Part of this bold Rant. I shall content my self with considering the ~~last~~ Article; and by the Falseness of that, you may judge what Credit is due to the rest. No man, who has the

least Idea of the History of that Age, can believe the Christians so numerous in the Senate as he pretends. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, who liv'd and wrote at the same time, under SEVERUS's Persecution, and had his Head turn'd with no Fumes of Fanaticism, gives a very different Account of this matter. PLATO, he tells us, in his Description of a complete Philosopher, among other distinguishing Marks says, He did not know where the Senate-House stood. And this Character, says CLEMENS, agrees perfectly well with the Christians; which shews that he knew of no Senators of their Religion in his time, (*Clemens Alex. Strom. v. p. 596.*) And ORIGEN, thro'out his whole *Apology*, constantly represents the Senate as violent Enemies to Christianity, (*p. 6, 110, 183.*) Nor is there any mention in the Ecclesiastical Historians of Christian Senators, before APOLLONIUS, whom you suppose, upon St. JEROM's Word, to have been a Senator. And it cannot be inferr'd from EUSEBIUS. But allowing this Fact to be true, 'tis plain there cou'd be no Christian Senators, unless they dissembled their Religion; since APOLLONIUS, as
soon

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soon as he was discover'd, suffer'd Martyrdom for his Religion, under a Reign so indulgent to Christianity. 'Tis probable indeed, from EUSEBIUS and St. CYPRIAN, that there were some few Christian Senators under VALERIAN and GALLIENUS; but the Body of the Senators were so far from embracing our Religion, that about eighty Years after the Establishment of Christianity, they had Strength enough to carry a Vote to petition the Emperor VALENTINIAN II. to restore the Altar of Victory (*Symmachi Ep. 61. l. 10.*) St. AMBROSE indeed (*Ep. 1. ad Valen. contra Symmach.*) says, the Christians were then the Majority: But this seems very unlikely; for how then came the Heathen to carry such a Vote? And if it had been gain'd by Surprise in a thin House, why had not the Christians, at their next Meeting, unvoted it again? which they never attempted, but contented themselves with making private Applications to the Emperor to reject the Petition. Under the next Reign they had Interest enough in the House to pass the same Vote, and to prevail with the Emperor, tho a Christian, to grant it, (*Ambros. Ep. ad Eugen.*)

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Eugen.) and after the Defeat of EUGENIUS the Senate stuck firmly to their old Idolatry, and cou'd not be prevail'd on by THEODOSIUS to embrace Christianity, (*Zosimus, l. iv. p. 283.*) tho shortly after under HONORIUS, the greatest part of them turn'd with the Tide, (*Pruden. contra Symm.*)

§ 3. IN the next place, there were such Tests impos'd on all Senators as made it impossible for them to appear, and act in the House without renouncing their Religion. Before they enter'd upon Business, every Senator was oblig'd *Thure & mero supplicare apud Aram ejus Dei in cujus Templo coiretur*, (*Suet. in Aug. 35.*) And the same is confirm'd by DIO, (*p. 542.*) and the Senate was always to be held in a Temple, (*A. Gellius 14. 7. Servius ad Æn. vii. 153, 174.*) The *Curia Julia* was the Place where they commonly met, which was consecrated by AUGUSTUS, who set up the Image of Victory in it, which was standing there in DIO's Time, (*p. 459.*) and continu'd many Years after the Establishment of Christianity. Nor cou'd the Christian Senators absent themselves

selves from the House, for they were oblig'd to attend whether they wou'd or no, (*Ambros. ib.*) Besides all this, the Senators were oblig'd to take the Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, at the Altar of Victory, (*Symm. ib. Ambros. Ep. 2. contra Symm.*) and there they were sworn before they gave their Votes, *Jurati ad Aram Simulachri in Sententiam cogerebantur*, (*Ambro. Ep. 1. ib.*) to which Custom TACITUS seems to allude (*Ann. 1. c. 74.*) And can you imagine that a Christian cou'd comply with all these Heathenish Superstitions, especially when St. AMBROSE assures us that the Christian Senators, in his time declar'd, that if the Altar of Victory, and those idolatrous Ceremonies were restor'd, they cou'd not attend with a safe Conscience, tho they were not then oblig'd to join with the Heathens in them? *Fi- rendumne est ut Gentilis sacrificet & Christianus intersit?* (*Ambro. Ep. 2.*) *quod——inviti Christiani interesse sacrificiis cogerebantur*, (*Idem. Ep. 1.*) Thus, Sir, I think I have abundantly demonstrated the Falshood of this Article in TERTULLIAN, which is sufficient to give you a taste of his Sincerity and Exactness

in the rest of them. I have a just Value for his Wit and Learning, but you must pardon me if I can't prevail with my self to give credit to all the extravagant Flights which occur so frequently in his Writings; of which I shall only single out two for a Specimen of the rest. The first is a Relation of an *African* Prophetess, to whom an human Soul appear'd bodily, *Ostensa est—anima corporaliter (de Anima c. 9.)* and for the Truth of which God Almighty is solemnly call'd to witness. The other is a Vision of a great City (the heavenly *Jerusalem*) which was seen hanging over *Judea* forty Mornings together, which he pretends was attested by the Heathens themselves, who accompany'd SEVERUS in his Eastern Expedition, and who, in all likelihood, invented this Lye on purpose to abuse the Christians, (*contra Marcionem*, l. iii. c. 24.) This is a very extraordinary Story, and 'tis great pity that Bishop PEARSON, when his hand was in, (*Lect. in Acta Apost.* p. 65.) had not gone on to vindicate the Credit of his *Vir gravis*, &c. even in this Relation, against the Calumnies of TAN-FABER, who had the Impudence to
question

question the Truth of this Castle in the Air. But 'tis time to return to my Subject.

§ 4. BISHOP BURNET was no stranger to TERTULLIAN'S Character, and had too much Judgment to lay any stress on such Rhetorical Rants. He has made a judicious Estimate of the number of the Christians at *Rome*, from some positive and certain Mediums laid down by CORNELIUS, in his Letter (*apud Euseb. l. vi. c. 43.*) viz. the number of their Presbyters, and their Poor. To which of the Bishop's Calculations do you except? Is not a thousand Souls a sufficient Allowance for one Presbyter, in an Age when the Flock was minded more than the Fleece? Has he increas'd the number of the Poor beyond their just Proportion? That no man will say, who considers that the far greater part of the Christians, at that time, consisted of the lowest and poorest Rank of the People, as is constantly objected to them by their Adversaries, and never disown'd by the Apologists. I shou'd be glad to see your Arguments against the Bishop's Calculation; for you have offer'd

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none in your Answer. In the mean time, you must give me leave to think, that the Bishop has justly computed them not to exceed fifty thousand Souls; which, as CORNELIUS says, is a very great number. Now, if we reckon four Millions of People at *Rome*, which is a moderate Computation, for ISAAC VOSSIUS makes them fourteen Millions, (*Variae Observ.* p. 34.) the Christians wou'd amount to an eightieth part of the Inhabitants. And if we consider that this Letter of CORNELIUS was written above seventy Years after the Death of ANTONINUS, and that in this Interval there were two long Tolerations, the first of twenty two Years, from the Death of ANTONINUS to the 10th of SEVERUS; and the second of thirty eight Years, from the Death of SEVERUS (for MAXIMIN's Persecution is not worth taking notice of) to the beginning of DECIVS, we may reasonably conclude, that their numbers were then double to what they were under ANTONINUS; which will reduce them, in his time, to the hundred and sixtieth part of the Inhabitants. In the Reign of that Prince there were about forty standing Legions. So that if
you

you suppose the Christians to have been listed in proportion to their Numbers, their Quota in the Army cou'd not rise to above a fourth part of a Legion; nor so high as that, if we consider that the Christians were less numerous in other Cities than in *Rome*, and much fewer in the Country Villages, where the Legions were commonly rais'd, than in the Cities, as I shall prove in the following Sections.

§ 5. IN the next place, you deny *Rome* to be the head Quarters of Christianity. But what say you to St. CYPRIAN, (*Ep.* 59. p. 266. *Amsterd. Ed.*) who calls it the *Ecclesia Principalis*? What Answer can you make to the express Testimony of IRENÆUS, (*t. iii. c. 3.*) who gives it the Preheminence above all other Churches, and says, 'twas the *Ecclesia antiquissima, & maxima*, i. e. *populosissima*, say GRABE, and all the Protestant Criticks. IRENÆUS a little lower adds the Reason why it was the most populous Church in the World, because of the great Resort of Christians, who flock'd thither from all parts of the Empire: which agrees very well with TACITUS, (*Ann. xv. 44.*) *quo cuncta*

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cuncta undiq; atrocia—confluunt celebranturque: by which he means foreign Rites and Religions, especially the Jewish and the Christian; which last, as appears from this very Passage, had a flourishing Church at *Rome*, in the very Infancy of Christianity, and from whence it spread into all the Western Provinces of *Europe*. 'Twas the Greatness and Reputation of this Church which drew all the Founders of new Sects thither, as SIMON MAGUS, (*Euseb. ii. 13.*) MARCION, (*Tertull. de praescript. c. 30.*) MARCELLINA, (*Irenaeus p. 101.*) CERDON, (*p. 103.*) VALENTINUS, (*p. 206.*) PRAXAS, (*Tertull. adversus Prax. c. 1.*) NOVATUS, (*Cypr. Ep. passim*) with many others, to vent their Heresies on a larger Scene. And 'twas for the same Reason that so many Controversies and Disputes in other Churches came to be decided at *Rome*, tho that See, in those Ages, never laid claim to any such Jurisdiction as the Popes have since challeng'd. These Authorities do plainly demonstrate that *Rome* was the Capital of Christianity as well as the Empire.

§ 6. YOU go on to prove *Ephesus* the head Quarters of Christianity, from the numbers of Christians with which the neighbouring Provinces were well nigh peopled: But this you assert without any other Proof than what has been already answer'd. How your next Argument, drawn from St. JOHN's residing at *Ephesus*, and his naming it before the six other Churches in the *Revelation*, and from the Pro-consul's being oblig'd, by an Imperial Edict, to land there when he took possession of his Government, can prove that City the head Quarters of Christianity, I am at a loss to comprehend. Nor are you more fortunate in the Chronology of this Edict, which you place seventy Years after the Death of ANTONINUS; whereas 'tis certain that CARACALLA, who publish'd this Edict, as appears from ULPIAN in the Place you cite, dy'd but thirty six Years after ANTONINUS. Your next Citation is out of BALDWIN, a modern Writer, whose bare Authority is not worth the taking notice of. The Persecutions in the Proconsular *Asia*, on which Argument you lay such stress, were not

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owing to the numbers of the Christians, but the Malice of the *Jews*, as Mr. DODWELL has long ago observ'd, (*Dissert. Cyprian. II. c. 19. 44.*) The *Jews* had numerous Settlements in this Province, (*Joseph. Antiq. xvi. 4.*) especially after their final Dispersion under ADRIAN; and wherever they prevail'd, never fail'd to inflame the People against the Christians, as appears from JUSTIN MARTYR, in his Dialogue held at *Ephesus* with TRYPHON, a celebrated Doctor of the *Jews*, (*p. 234. 335. 363. Ed. Col.*) and from the ACTS of POLYCARP, who suffer'd at *Smyrna* in the same Province, and other Authors whom I have cited in the Defence of *Article III. § 2.* But if this Argument from the Persecutions had any weight in it, it wou'd conclude as strongly for my Hypothesis; for *Rome* only felt the Fury of the first Persecution, and the second seems chiefly to have rag'd there: and in most of the following Persecutions *Rome* had as large a Share as any other Part of the Empire.

§ 7. YOUR next Argument drawn from the two Epistles of St. PETER, and

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as many of St. PAUL, directed to the Churches in *Asia*, if it were a good one, would prove *Greece* the Center of Christianity, since there are no less than six Epistles of St. PAUL address'd to the *Græcian* Churches in *Europe*; and shou'd I allow the following one from the number of the Apologists, it will plainly prove that Christianity very often shifted its head Quarters. In ADRIAN's time it must have been at *Athens*, where QUADRATUS and ARISTIDES, the only Apologists under that Reign, resided; and in the third Century it must have been in *Africa*, which had more Apologists at that time than any other part of the Empire. And if we are to make an Estimate of the number of the Christians in the several Provinces, from the number of the Apologists who flourish'd in them, I am afraid we shall find no Christians at all in the Western Provinces, since they produc'd no Apologists till long after the Establishment of Christianity.

§ 8. In the next place, you are of opinion that the Christians were numerous enough in *Asia* to supply the Army with
Legions.

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Legions. But *Asia* was never the Nursery of the *Roman* Army, as appears from the whole tenour of their History. After AUGUSTUS, for Reasons of State, had disarm'd the *Italians*, (*Herod.* ii. 38.) *Hispania*, *Gallicus axis*, *Illyricumq; latus*, were the warlike Provinces where the Legions were commonly rais'd. The *Asiatics* were infamous even to a Proverb for their Softness and Luxury, (*Vid. Cic. Ep. Fam.* 151, 378, 9.) and if ever they were employ'd, as they sometimes were in *Asia*, they were sure to distinguish themselves by their eminent Cowardise; of which we have a remarkable Instance under SEVERUS, (*Dio* p. 856.) who has left behind him a true Description of their Prowess. As for ANTONINUS, he knew their Character too well (*Dio* p. 811.) to incounter the brave Nations of the *North* with such effeminate Troops. His Levies, as 'tis probable, were chiefly made in *Spain*; which CAPITOLINUS (*in Antonino* c. 11. & *ibidem Casaub.*) says, was almost dispeopled with raising Recruits. But you never cou'd have worse apply'd this Argument to any other Reign, or to any other Period of this Reign, more unluckily

luckily than to this very Juncture, when this pretended Miracle was wrought: For 'tis certain that he had no *Asiatick* Legions in his Army in *Pannonia* at that time, as most evidently appears by the Speech he made to incourage his Army, upon the first News of the Revolt of CASSIUS, *A. C.* 175. He there tells them that the Troops of CASSIUS were compos'd of *Cilicians*, *Syrians*, and other cowardly *Asiaticks*, who never were, and never wou'd be, a Match *for them*. Does not this plainly demonstrate, that he had then no *Asiatick* Legions in his Army? 'Tis very unlikely that the Christians were numerous enough in the Western Provinces of *Europe* to furnish whole Legions to the Emperor, since we are told by Sulpicius Severus (*l.* 2.) that it was late before Christianity cross'd the *Alps*, and that there were no Martyrs seen in *Gaul* till the famous Persecution in *Lyons*. Thus, Sir, I have gone thro all your Arguments, or rather Conjectures, upon this Subject; and I believe by this time you are thorowly satisfy'd how little Force they carry with them to prove the Point you contend for, or to bear down the Authority

thority of so plain and positive a Testimony as I have produc'd out of so antient a Father as IRENÆUS.

§ 9. I SHALL now pass on to examine the Argument you have offer'd to prove the Christians as numerous in the Country Villages as the Cities. The only Authority you produce is PLINY'S Epistle ; which I wonder at, since I had that very Passage in my eye to prove the quite contrary : For do not those Words, *Neg; enim Civitates tantum, &c.* plainly imply, that tho there were some Christians in the Country Villages, their numbers were much greater in the Cities ? And Bishop FELL, in his Notes upon that Epistle, gives a very good Reason for it ; because Christianity was planted earlier in the Cities than in the Country. Mr. DODWELL says the same in his Additions to Bishop PEARSON'S Posthumous Works, (p. 223.) and Dr. CAVE, *Prim. Christianity*, p. 210. I confess, I can bring no express Authority for this Opinion from any antient Writer : but since we find little or no mention, in those Ages, of any Churches planted, or any Martyrs suffering,

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ing, or any other remarkable Transactions of the Primitive Christians, except in the great Towns and Cities, the modern Authors have very probably concluded that Christianity at that time had made no great Progress in the Country Villages: Which Conjecture is very much confirm'd by the late Institution of the *Chorepiscopi*, or Rural Bishops. I can find no trace of their Name before the Councils of *Ancyra* and *Neo-Cesarea* in the beginning of the fourth Century, nor of the thing it self till the middle of the third Century. That this Order was not instituted before the beginning of the third Century, is very probable; because the Apostolical Canons, which are generally suppos'd to have been compil'd about that time, make no mention of it. I am apt to believe it had its first Rise, when the Converts in the Country were grown too numerous for the Inspection of the City Bishops. As for your next Observation, that Paganism still continu'd in the Cities after 'twas quite lost in the Country, I very much question the Truth of it. I own that DAMASCIUS, AMMONIUS, SIMPLICIUS, and some other Philosophers, flourish'd at *Athens*

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and *Alexandria*, as low as the sixth Century, under JUSTINIAN. But how do you know that the Heathen Religion was entirely abolish'd in the Country Villages? I cou'd never yet discover the precise time when the last Remains of Paganism were quite rooted out of the World; and if you have met with it in the course of your Reading, I shou'd be oblig'd to you for letting me know it. I can trace Paganism as low as the Reign of TIBERIUS II. A.C. 581. (*vid. Evagrium. v. 18.*) and yet lower under MAURICIUS, (*Evagr. vi. 22.*) but how long it lasted after that time I know not.

*A Defence of the second Part of
the first Article,*

*That there were few or no Christians
in the Army under ANTONINUS.*

§ 1. **I**N the first place I shall vindicate my Argument in general from your Objections, and prove it logical and conclusive in all the several Parts of which it consists.

First,

First, I PRODUC'D divers Writers of that time, all directly, or in consequence, denying that there were then any Christian Soldiers. Having prov'd the Fact, I proceeded to assign the Reasons of it, *viz.* The idolatrous Tests impos'd upon all Soldiers, which you neither disown, nor prove the Christians exempt from, nor shew them to be lawful; and therefore my Inference is very just, that either there were none in the Army, or else they were guilty of gross Idolatry; and consequently their Prayers were not likely to work Wonders. This is the Sum and Substance of my Argument: And I wou'd fain know where the Sophistry of it lies. If you'll please to consider it, you'll find that I have drawn just and necessary Conclusions from clear and certain Premises. As for the foot you wou'd put the Argument upon, 'tis against all the Rules of right Reasoning; for 'tis begging the Question, and supposing the only thing in Debate, *viz.* Whether there were any Christian Soldiers in the Army of ANTONINUS, or not? In the next place, you charge me with an Inconsistency, in saying, that

under the Persecutions of the third Century, all Christian Soldiers, who refus'd to sacrifice to the Heathen Gods, were turn'd out of the Army, tho upon my Supposition they cou'd not come into the Army without committing Idolatry; that is, you say, tho they were Idolaters they were turn'd out of the Army for not being Idolaters, (you shou'd have added *enough*.) And this you reckon a manifest Contradiction, and from thence conclude, because the Christian Soldiers made conscience of committing the last and grossest Act of Idolatry, which was downright Apostacy, they were wholly free from all other kinds of it. But there is a Passage in TERTULLIAN which fairly accounts for this seeming Difficulty, and shows, that tho those Tests were really idolatrous, yet some corrupt Christians of that time, who comply'd with them, did not think them so. 'Tis in his Treatise *de Idols*. c. 2. where he complains of a Set of loose Caluists in the third Century, who thought nothing Idolatry but being a Pagan Priest, or sacrificing to Pagan Gods; and the main Drift of that Discourse is to lay open the Folly and Falshood of that

dangerous

dangerous Doctrine: And to this end he proves there were several other sorts of Idolatry, and among the rest he reckons up these very Tests. So that the Inconsistency does not lie in my Argument, but their Practice. I shall now pass on to a more particular Defence of my Arguments on this Subject, to reinforce them with new Proofs, and to examine your Objections against them.

§ 2. IT appears from the Testimony of ATHENAGORAS and MINUCIUS FELIX, that the passive Principles of the Christians of that Age made them think all Bloodshed, and consequently War, unlawful: Which is confirm'd by THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS, who assigns that Reason for their shunning the bloody Shows of the Gladiators. And 'tis on the same Account that IRENÆUS (*l. i. p. 31.*) charges it as a Crime on the *Valentinians*, that they made no scruple to assist at the barbarous Spectacles (*Homicidiale Spectaculum*, *ib.*) which are likewise condemn'd by TATIAN, (*37, 40. Ed. Oxon.*) JUSTIN MARTYR (*Apol. i. p. 44. Ed. Colon.*) makes the Devil the Author of all War

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without distinction, and so does TATIAN, (c. 33.) and in the same Chapter he gives broad Intimations of his Opinion concerning the unlawfulness of War, as well as JUSTIN MARTYR, (c. p. 61, 78.) where he likewise makes a manifest Distinction between the Soldiers and Christians, as opposite in all respects. It seems probable from TATIAN, (c. 17.) that the Christians declin'd Commands in the Army, τὴν στρατιάν παρῆναι, *Imperatoriam dignationem aspernor*, as GESNER's Translation is rightly corrected in the Cologne Edition. 'Tis evident from JUSTIN MARTYR, (p. 78.) and from IRENÆUS, (l. iv. c. 67. p. 366. Edit. Grab.) that there were no Christian Soldiers in the Army in their time, because both affirm that the famous Prophecy of ISAIAH (ii. 4.) was accomplish'd, and took effect in the Primitive Christians : *Gladios & Lanceas bellatorias — in organa pacifica demutaverunt, & jam nesciunt pugnare*, says IRENÆUS, *ib.* And 'tis most manifest they both understood this Prophecy in a literal Sense. 'Tis in the same manner that JUSTIN interprets the like Prophecy of MICAH (iv. 3.) in his Dialogue with

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TRYPHON, *p.* 337. Even the Author of ANTONINUS's forg'd Epistle so far observ'd the *τὸ ἀντίστοιχον* as to make Fighting contrary to the Principles and Practice of that Age; and therefore he brings in the Christians with no other Arms but those admirable ones of Prayers and Tears. I wou'd fain know what that Sect of the *Nicolaitans* was which EPIPHANIUS styles *εὐαγγέλιστοι*, (*p.* 77. *Ed. Pet.*) I can't find the Reason of the Name in any ancient Writers; and therefore am apt to conclude, from the Etymology of the Word, that 'twas a Term of Reproach fasten'd on them by the Orthodox, for their serving, or holding it lawful to serve, in the Armies. All these Authors do directly, or in consequence, deny the Lawfulness of War; and not only represent it as their own private Opinion, but as agreeable to the universal Belief and Practice of that Age. And I don't see what can be reasonably oppos'd to the Authority of every individual Writer of the second Century, who wrote near the Age of ANTONINUS. In the next place, I shall produce the express Testimony of CELSUS, (*p.* 426.) where he charges the

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Christians with refusing to bear Arms for the Emperor. And if this is not a Charge, as you suppose, but an Admonition, 'tis at least such an Admonition as manifestly implies a Charge, as you may see if you please to compare it with *p.* 423. where he tells the Christians, that if the rest of the Empire were of their Opinion, it wou'd soon be over-run by the Barbarians; which is a plain Proof that there were then no Christian Soldiers. But to set this matter beyond all dispute, ORIGEN, who had the whole Works of CELSUS entire, who had read him with so much Attention, and answer'd him with so much Wit and Learning, and consequently was better qualify'd to know his Meaning than any Man now living, understands it as a direct Charge, and owns the Fact to be true; which, by the way, is another Authority against you. As for his Opinion of the Unlawfulness of War, I lay as little stress upon it as you; for I produc'd his Testimony not as a Casuist, or Divine, but as an Historian confirming the Truth of CELSUS's Accusation against the Christians. I wou'd fain know whether this Cloud of Witnesses is not sufficient to
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over-balance the single Authority of so credulous a Writer as TERTULLIAN. In the next place, I shall consider your Objections against this Head.

§ 3. THE first Authority you produce is a Passage of CLEMENS ALEX. (in his *Pædag.* ii. 11. p. 205. Ed. Colon.) Ἄνδρ' δὲ ἐὺ μάλα ἀγμόδιον ἀνυποδησία πλὴν εἰ μὴ στρατιώτης. 'Tis decent for a Man to go bare-foot unless he be a Soldier; for the Soldiers were oblig'd to use the *Caliga*. And CLEMENS in another place (p. 244.) says, στρατιώται ἐστὶν δικαία σολή — That they wore a Habit peculiar to themselves. The Practice of this Rule he recommends to the Christians in particular; but the Reason he gives for it is general, and includes all Mankind alike; because 'twas becoming every Man (ἀνδρ' in opposition to Women) except he were a Soldier. So that I can't see how you can infer from this Passage that there were then any Christian Soldiers. But understanding it in your Sense, how do you prove that he does not mean the *Milites cohortales*, who wore the same Habit, and had the same Names, Ranks, and Distinctions among them

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them as the *Milites castrenses*? and yet they were nothing else but the Officers of the Civil Magistrates, and never bore Arms. But supposing it to be meant of the *Milites castrenses*, it proves no more than what I always own'd, that there were Christian Soldiers in the third Century; for CLEMENS wrote in that Age, after the Death of COMMODUS, A.C. 192. (p. 337, 9.) and even after SEVERUS's Persecution, which began in the third Century, (p. 414, 684.) But how does this Passage, understood even in your Sense, prove that CLEMENS allow'd the Lawfulness of War? Does it follow, because he mentions Christian Soldiers, that he thought the Profession just and warrantable? Does not TERTULLIAN, when the Pagans charg'd the Christians with being useless to the Commonwealth, reply, *Vobiscum militamus*, &c? (*Apol.* 42.) And yet 'tis well known that he condemn'd the Practice of serving in the Army. But there are other Passages in the Works of CLEMENS, which plainly shew how ill an Opinion he entertain'd of War, and Christian Soldiers, as p. 72. and more plainly, p. 134, 164, 498. And does he not (p. 244.) describe

describe the Christians by the distinguishing Character of *ἐλευνικὸι καὶ σωματοφύλακες*, in opposition to the Soldiers? So that this place of CLEMENS, understood in my Sense, or your own, proves just nothing at all.

§ 4. AS for St. BASIL, your next Witness, (tho I can't find your Citation) I think him clearly against you. Our Fathers, says he, (under CONSTANTINE, &c.) thought Bloodshed in War excusable, I suppose, because it was committed in defence of Virtue and Religion; which plainly shows that he spoke of Christian Soldiers serving under Christian Emperors. And since that was the only Reason why he thought War allowable, 'tis plain by his Principles he cou'd not think it lawful to fight under Heathen Emperors in defence of Idolatry and Superstition. That was one of TERTULLIAN's Arguments against serving in the Pagan Army, *Excubabit (christianus) pro aris quibus renuntiavit?* (*De Cor. Militis*, c. 11.) I wonder'd to see you quote the *Clementine Constitutions* as a genuine Work, which is allow'd by all the World to be spurious, and compil'd (according to Bi-

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shop PEARSON) after the fifth Century, (*Lect. in Acta Apost. p. 46.*) As for the Precept there father'd on St. PAUL, it belongs to JOHN *the Baptist*, who gave it not to the Heathen, but in all likelihood to the *Jewish* Soldiers in the Tetrarchy of HEROD, which the *Romans* were not then possess'd of. After the *Clementine Constitutions*, I expected to see you quote those grave and judicious Historians the *Martyrologists*, who wou'd have furnish'd you with numerous Instances of Christian Soldiers in the second Century, of eleven thousand banish'd by TRAJAN, and ten thousand crucify'd by ADRIAN upon Mount *Ararat*, &c. (*Baron. ad Ann. 108.*) And yet, as wild and extravagant as these Relations appear, I can't find that Bishop PEARSON had any better Authority to affirm, as he does in his Notes upon IGNATIUS's Epistles, (*p. 54.*) that there were then many Christian Soldiers in TRAJAN's Army.

§ 5. YOUR Arguments from the New Testament are of no weight, unless you cou'd produce some Precepts given by Christ or his Apostles to Christian Soldiers
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continuing in the Army after their Conversion. And as for your Instance of CORNELIUS, it shall be consider'd in its proper Place. But the Church, you say, never disallow'd of this Profession, because we have no Examples of any Christian Soldiers censur'd, &c. If you mean in the second Century, which is all I contend for, the Reason is very plain; for there were then no Christian Soldiers, as I have prov'd by the unanimous Testimony of all the Fathers of that Age, whose Works are uncontestably genuine, and who, with one consent, condemn the Doctrine and disown the Practice. And I wou'd fain know what Reason you have to question their Authority. If they have all conspir'd to misrepresent the Sense of the Age they wrote in, in what other Monuments shall we search for it? What general Councils were there in that Age? What Provincial or National Synods do we hear of till the Reign of COMMODUS? And were not those conven'd on the Controversies about *Easter*, and the Heresy of MONTANUS? And are not the Canons of those Councils lost? So that we have no other Authority to depend on for the
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Opinion or Practice of that Age but the united Testimony of those Fathers which I have cited. As for the next Century, I make no doubt but there were then Christian Soldiers in the Army; but how far that Usage was warranted by the Doctrine of the Church, is another Question. Sure I am that 'tis positively condemn'd by TERTULLIAN and ORIGEN, and plainly dislike'd by CLEMENS; and even LACTANTIUS, (vi. 20.) who wrote in the very beginning of the fourth Century, declares expressly against it. So that your negative Argument, drawn from the silence of the Councils of that Age, has little Force in it against the Authority of four such celebrated Fathers; especially if we consider how few Councils of that Age are extant, and that they were all assembled upon other Occasions. But what if I can produce the Sense of the whole Church met in a General Council against this Usage? What say you to the twelfth Canon of the Council of *Nice*? (vid. *Zonaram*.) Does it not severely censure some Persons for coming back to the Army after they had once left it? This, in my opinion, must be understood of the
Army

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Army of LICINIUS, who was vanquish'd and depos'd the Year before, *A. C.* 324. and the Sentence was thunder'd out against such Soldiers as quitted the Service, when LICINIUS declar'd against Christianity, out of mere Conscience, and afterwards return'd to it out of Interest. For it seems highly improbable that the Council wou'd pass so hard a Censure on the Christian Soldiers, who serv'd in the Army of their great Patron and Deliverer CONSTANTINE; nor do I think the Church ever held it unlawful to serve under Christian Emperors. SALMASIUS has given another turn to this Canon, which is more favourable to my Hypothesis than my own Explication: For he seems to suppose the Council condemn'd all Soldiers who list'd themselves voluntarily in the Army under Heathen or Christian Emperors; which last I can hardly believe, for Reasons already alledg'd. As for JUSTEL's Exposition of this Canon, I shall not be at the Pains of transcribing it, because you may consult him your self in his Notes on the Council of *Nice*. To me it seems forc'd, unnatural, and ill-grounded, being neither agreeable

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agreeable to the Words and Tenour of the Canon, or the Practice of that time.

§ 6. HAVING prov'd by the Authority of so many Witnesses, that the Primitive Christians, by reason of their past five Principles founded on some mistaken Texts of Scripture, held War in general to be inconsistent with Christianity, I shall pass on to those idolatrous Tests which made them think it particularly unlawful to serve in the *Roman* Armies. I shall prove there were such Tests, that they were not dispens'd with, and that they were unlawful. I shall begin with the military Oath. Swearing by the Majesty of the Emperor was no part of the Soldiers Oath, that I know of, till the Establishment of Christianity. Swearing by the Emperor's Health (for so *Salus* is render'd by DIO, *p.* 267.) was probably part of the Oath. The Form of this Oath, under the Commonwealth, is uncertain, tho it may be guess'd at from LIVY (ii. 45.) But this we are sure of, that 'twas by the Pagan Gods; for SCIPIO, in his Speech to his mutinous Soldiers, upbraids them with want of Reverence to the *Deos sacra-*
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menti testes, (*Liv.* xxviii. 27.) The Form of the Oath under the Emperors is uncertain likewise, but 'tis most evident 'twas by the Pagan Gods, as expressly appears from SEVERUS'S Speech to his Army in praise of their Loyalty, τὸ πρὸς ὑμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Θεὸς σεβασμίων ἐς ὅμνσις, (*Herod.* ii. 36. *Ox. Edit.*) and from the Speech of the Emperor MAXIMUS, in the same Author, (viii. 19.) θεὸς ἐς ὁμολοχασίς. TACITUS alludes to it, (*Hist.* iv. 58.) *Inter recens & vetus sacramentum invisī Diis errabitis.* 'Tis probable that this Oath, as 'twas new modell'd by AUGUSTUS, (*Dio*, p. 603.) was very little different from the common Oath of Fidelity to the Emperor, which seems to have been by all the Gods, (*Appian de B. Civil.* l. ii. p. 845.) to which the Health and *Genius* of the Emperor was added by the Senate, under JULIUS CÆSAR, (*Dio*, p. 243, 267.) which continu'd in force till TIBERIUS declin'd that Honour, (*Dio*, p. 607.) which he afterwards accepted, (622, 629.) And CALIGULA put some Persons to death for omitting to swear by his *Genius*, (*Suet.* c. 27.) There is no doubt but it still continu'd in force un-

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der the succeeding Emperors; for there are Medals inscrib'd *Genio Neronis*, and an Inscription in GRUTER, (*p.* 1085, 6.) *Genio Antonini Pii*. The Soldiers swore by the *Genius* of PLAUTIANUS, who was rather a Partner of the Empire with SEVERUS than a Minister, (*Dio*, *p.* 857.) as they had formerly done by that of SEJANUS and TIBERIUS, (*Dio*, *p.* 622.) And it appears from APULEIUS, (*l.* ix. *sub finem*) that 'twas the ordinary Oath of the Soldiers before the Civil Magistrates, and 'twas commonly us'd in deciding Controversies in Law, (*Dig.* l. xii. tit. 2. c. 5.) The *Tyrians* of *Puteoli*, in their Letter to their Countrymen in *Phenicia*, (*Grut. Inscript.* 1105. 3.) which bears Date the same Year with this Miracle, swear by all the Gods, and the *Genius* of ANTONINUS; which last was certainly at that time part of the common Oath of Fidelity, as appears by the Instance of CASSIUS in TERTULLIAN, who rebell'd under that Reign, (*ad Scapulam*, c. 2.) The same is confirm'd by the Christian Writers, the *Acta Polycarpi*, ORIGEN, (*p.* 420.) MINUCIUS FELIX, (*p.* 283.) and TERTULLIAN's *Apol.* (c. 32.) where you
may

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may see what opinion the Christians entertain'd of it. From what I have said, it appears very certain that the Soldiers, in their military Oath, swore by the Pagan Gods, and probably by the Health and Genius of the Emperor, *V. Apul. Met.* P. 311.

§ 7. THAT these Tests were never dispens'd with, is evident to any man who considers the Constitution of the *Roman* Army. The Soldiers, as soon as they were list'd, were immediately sworn, says POLYBIUS, (*l. vi. p. 650.*) The *Sacramentum* made them *sola legitima militia*, according to SERVIUS, (*ad Æn. 8. 1.*) Nor was it lawful to bear Arms or fight without that Oath, (*Cicero de Offic. i. 11. Plut. Rom. Quæst. c. 39.*) nor if a Soldier was converted after his taking Service in the Army, was it possible to evade the military Oath, because 'twas renew'd every Year, (*Plin. l. x. Ep. 60. Paneg. c. 68. Plut. in Galb. p. 1505. Suet. in Galb. c. 16. Tac. Hist. i. 55.*) And 'tis a jest to suppose that the Christians were excepted from this general Rule. The Emperor MAXI-

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rod. viii. 19.) calls this Oath the most sacred part of their Constitution, the τῆς Πολεμικῆς ἀρχῆς σέμνον μυστήριον, which was very true ; for under a military Government the publick Safety entirely depends on the Duty and Fidelity of the Army : For which Reason, there is no doubt but they took care to guard so tender a Point, by imposing this Test on all Soldiers without distinction, especially if we consider that there was no exemption allow'd them from the least of the Heathen Superstitions, as is apparent from the example of the Soldier in TERTULLIAN, (*de Coron. Mil.* c. 1.) But to prove beyond exception that this Oath was requir'd of the Christians, TERTULLIAN makes it one of his main Arguments against the Lawfulness of serving in the Army, (*De Coron. Milit.* c. 11. *De Idolol.* c. 19.) But to elude the Force of this Argument, perhaps you'll oppose the Authority of Dr. CAVE and BARONIUS, who pretend that the military Oath in VEGETIUS (ii. 5.) was the same the Christians took under the Heathen Emperors. But this is a strange Mistake ; for that Author, who wrote under VALENTINIAN the second, speaks only of the Oath then us'd

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us'd under the Christian Emperors, as *Jo-*
han. Sarisberien. de Nugis Curial. vi. 7.
Stewechius ad Vegetium, and Archbishop
USHER, *ad Acta Polycarpi*, rightly under-
stood it. This Oath in VEGETIUS is a-
greeable enough to the common Form us'd
by the Christians of those Ages on other
Occasions, as appears by the Example of
ZENO a rural Bishop, who, when he abjur'd
his Herefy in the Council of *Ephesus*, swore
by the Trinity, and the Piety and Victory
of the Emperor. But to imagine that this
Oath was administer'd to the Christian Sol-
diers, under the Heathen Emperors, is a
jest to any one who considers what Opi-
nion the *Roman* Law entertain'd of such
Oaths. ULPIAN (*Dig.* 12. l. ii. c. 5.) de-
clares that all Oaths which imply'd a dis-
like of the establish'd Religion, were il-
legal and of no Obligation in Law, even
in private Controversies between man and
man: *Siquis illicitum jusjurandum de-*
tulerit, scilicet improbatæ publicæ re-
ligionis, &c. And I make no doubt but
he had the Christians and *Jews* in his
eye when he wrote that Sentence.

§ 8. I SHALL in the next place produce the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers against the Lawfulness of swearing by the Heathen Gods; which they were so far from allowing, that many of them have seem'd to have understood the Precept of our Saviour against swearing without any Exception or Reserve, and consequently to have held all Oaths unlawful. Of this number is IRENÆUS, (*l. ii. c. 56.*) JUSTIN MARTYR, (*Apol. ii. p. 63.*) TERTULLIAN, (*de Idolol. c. 23. ad Scap. c. 2.*) and CLEMENS ALEX. tho a Man of freer Thoughts and a larger Mind, seems to favour the same Opinion, (*p. 225, 596, 729.*) We have an Example in EUSEBIUS (*vi. 5.*) of a Christian who held it unlawful τὸ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλῆσιαν ὀρκνύσθαι. And even as low as the fourth Century, St. CHRYSOSTOM, BASIL, and St. JEROM, were not entirely free from this Error, as I find them cited by DAILLE in his matchless Book of the *Right Use of the Fathers*. As for Heathen Oaths, they were universally condemn'd by the Church as blasphemous and idolatrous. Not to mention the Example of POLYCARP,

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and the Martyrs of *Lyons* (*Euseb.* v. i. p. 164.) nor the Authority of TERTUL-
LIAN (*de Idolol.* c. 20.) and ORIGEN,
(p. 420.) I shall content my self with
producing this remarkable Testimony of
St. AMBROSE (*Epif.* i. *ad Valentinianum*
contra Symmachum) *Christiani in aram*
jurare cogentur? Quid est jurare nisi
ejus quem testare fidei tuæ præfulem, di-
vinam potentiam confiteri? As for the mo-
dern Casuists, I shall only produce Bishop
SANDERSON, who had more *Logick* and
Judgment than all the Fathers put toge-
ther: He determines expressly that such
Oaths are *planè Idololatrica*, *De Jura-*
menti oblig. p. 91.

§ 9. THO from the Arguments I had
allegd'd in my former Discourse, which
you have not thought fit to contradict, it
sufficiently appears that the Soldiers lay
under a necessity of paying Divine Ho-
nours to their Standards, and Statues of the
Emperors; yet, to leave no room for
doubt, I shall advance some new Proofs
and Authorities to reinforce them. *Ubiq;*
vim vestræ Divinitatis esse, ubi vultus
vestri, ubi Signa coluntur, says EUME-

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NIUS, (*Paneg. ad Constantium* c. 15.) *Quæ Signa colunt urbana cohortes.* STATIUS (Syl. 4. v. 9. lib. 1.) See *Minucius Fel.* p. 283. and *Capitol. in Maximo & Balbino*, p. 17. *Imagines Imperatorum — tanquam divina & præsentia Signa singuli venerantur*, says MODESTUS, who wrote under the Emperor TACITUS, (*De rei militar. vocab.* p. 250.) which plainly shews there was no Exemption for any Soldier whatsoever. In the Prætorian Camp was a Temple, where those Standards and Statues were set up to be ador'd, (*Herod.* iv. 8.) nor were they worshipp'd with simple Adoration only, but even with Incense and Sacrifice, as appears from PLINY, (*Ep.* 97. l. 10.) DIO, (p. 661, 712.) On their Submission to a new Emperor, this Adoration was requir'd of the Army as a Test of their Loyalty and Obedience, of which we have a signal Example in *Capitolinus*, (*in Maximino*, c. 24.) *Milites recepti, ita ut ante imagines (Imperatorum) adorarent.* The least Disrespect or Indignity offer'd to the Statues of the Emperors pass'd for High-Treason, (*Tac. Ann.* 1. c. 73, 74.) and was reputed a higher Crime in a Soldier, and more severely punish'd than in any other.

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other. *Crimen majestatis — violatis Statuis, vel imaginibus maximè exacerbatur in milites*, says MODESTINUS, (*Dig.* 48. tit. 4. c. 7.) For such an Attempt was consider'd as an Overt-act of Rebellion; because whenever the Soldiers shook off their Allegiance to the Emperors, they always began with affronting and demolishing their Statues, (*Herod.* 8. 15. *Tac. Hist.* 1. 41.) I hope these Authorities are sufficient to convince you that these Tests were indispensably requir'd of all Soldiers.

§ 10. MY next Business is to demonstrate their Unlawfulness. And for this I need produce no other Proof than the second Commandment, and the universal Sense of the Primitive Church, as you may see in PLINY, (*Ep.* 97. l. 10.) and TERTULLIAN, (*de Idol.* c. 20.) To which I might add the concurrent Testimony of all the antient Fathers of the three first Ages, if it wou'd not look like a vain parade of Reading to heap up Citations in so evident a matter. The only Objection I foresee that can be urg'd to warrant their Lawfulness, must be drawn
from

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from the Practice of the Christians in the fourth Century, who made no scruple to worship the Images of their Emperors. But there is a wide difference between these two Cases ; for the Christians worshipp'd their Emperors as Men, not as Gods, and consequently with a civil, not a religious Adoration. Tho I am of opinion that the Practice it self, even with the help of this common Distinction, was very scandalous, and never to be reconcil'd to the second Commandment. I take it to be one of those idolatrous Corruptions which crept into Christianity upon CONSTANTINE'S Conversion, with many other Remains of Paganism, which were still retain'd, either out of flattery to their Princes, or in compliance with the Heathens : For 'twas long after the Establishment of our Religion before the Leven of Heathenism was entirely purg'd out of the Church, as I cou'd easily make appear by numerous Instances ; but I shall content my self with a few, to give you a taste of the rest. To pass over the blasphemous Attributes they bestow'd on their Emperors, as NUMEN, ÆTERNITAS, DIVINITAS, &c. and by which Precedents the

the *French* Flatterers justify all the impious Titles their grand Monarch has assum'd, 'tis most certain that the Christian Emperors still retain'd the Name of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, till the Reign of GRATIAN, as appears from ZOSIMUS, (*l. iv. p. 250. Ed. Ox.*) and from divers Passages in AUSONIUS's Panegyrick to GRATIAN, and from many Medals and Inscriptions, (*vid. Spanhem. ad Julian. p. 278.*) CONSTANTINE, after his Death, was *inter Deos relatus*, as appears from EUTROPIUS, (*l. x. 8.*) and from the Medal produc'd by SPANHEIM, (*ad Julian. p. 67.*) and was pray'd to, and worshipp'd as a God by the Christians, if we may believe PHILOSTORGIUS, *l. ii. c. 17.* Beside, the *Solemnis votorum nuncupatio*, which was Heathenism with a witness, still continu'd, (*vid. Spanhem. ad Julian. p. 278.*) And are not all these Instances every whit as warrantable as their worshipping the Statues of their Emperors? which Usage, as much in fashion as it was, was condemn'd by the best and greatest Fathers of that Age. CHRYSOSTOM chose rather to lose his Bishoprick a second time, than to connive at the impious Honours which

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which were paid to the Statues of the Empress EUDOXIA, (*Socrat. vi. 16. Sozomen viii 20.*) and St. AUSTIN, (*De Civit. Dei, x. 4.*) if my Translation be right, seems to allude to this Usage as a pestilent Piece of Flattery. But St. JEROME determines expressly against it, in those remarkable Words, *Judices & principes sæculi* (meaning the Christian Magistrates) *qui Imperatorum Statuas adorant, & Imagines, hoc se facere intelligunt, quod tres pueri facere nolentes placuerunt Deo,* (*ad Dan. c. 3.*) And in the beginning of the fifth Century, THEODOSIUS II. a religious Prince, had so just a Sense of this shameful and idolatrous Flattery, that he thought fit to abolish it by a Law, (*Just. Cod. l. i. tit. 24. c. 2.*)

§ II. TO illustrate this Argument, I shall in the next place produce the Judgment of the *Jewish* Church upon this Subject; who, as widely as they differ'd from the Christians in other Articles, yet entirely concurr'd with them in their Notions of Idolatry; and therefore their Authority, in this Controversy, must be of very great weight. That the *Jews* thought swearing

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ing by the Heathen Gods expressly forbid by the Decalogue, is too plain to need any Proof, (*Spencer de Leg. Heb.* l. i. c. 4. § 12.) And 'tis as certain that they held it unlawful to swear by the Heathen Emperors. 'Twas made a Charge against them under CALIGULA, that they refus'd to swear by his Name, (*Jos. Antiq.* xviii. 10. p. 639.) by which is meant either his bare Name, as in HORACE, *Ep.* I. l. 2. *Jurandasq; tuum per nomen ponimus aras*, and which the Christians held likewise unlawful, (*Origen*, p. 422.) or else, which is most likely, the common Oath by the Emperor's *Genius*, the Refusal of which was made a Capital Crime under that Reign, (*Suet. in Calig.* c. 27.) They entertain'd such an Abhorrence of the *Roman* Standards, with the Imperial Statues upon them, that they thought it a Crime to admit them within the Walls of *Jerusalem*, (*Joseph. Antiq.* xviii. 4. p. 621. *De Bello Jud.* ii. 9. p. 789.) or even in any part of their Territories, (*Joseph. Antiq.* xviii. 7. p. 627.) Tho the common Opinion of the *Jews* (for the *Pharisees* were more rigid) did not disallow of Images in general, provided they were not consecrated,

and made the Objects of religious Worship, as Dr. ALDRICH has very solidly prov'd, (*ad Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. ii. 9. Ox. Ed.*) War was never held unlawful by the Jewish Principles : yet it is plain they refus'd to lift themselves in the *Roman* Legions, as inconsistent with their Religion, (*Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 5. p. 623.*) by reason, in all likelihood, of these idolatrous Tests. And therefore, as a Reward for their eminent Services, they procur'd from JULIUS CÆSAR an Exemption from serving in the Wars, (*Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. p. 487, 8.*) and from AGRIPPA, (*Antiq. xvi. 4. p. 550*) Which Privilege was confirm'd by AGRIPPA. DOLABELLA, I confess, in his Edict in their favour, assigns other Reasons for it, as the Observation of their Sabbath, and the prohibited Meats: But 'tis plain these were not the only Reasons, because they wou'd have held as strongly against the serving under XERXES, (*Joseph. p. 1047.*) and the *Macedonian* Kings of *Syria*, (*Maccab. l. i. c. 11.*) which they did not scruple; nor did they refuse to serve under JULIUS CÆSAR, (*Antiq. xiv. 15. p. 481.*) where they acted only as Confederates and Auxiliaries, under the
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Command of their own Officers, and consequently were exempt from those Tests which the legionary Soldiers cou'd not be excus'd from.

§ 12. BEFORE I finish this Argument, I will first add one general Observation, That no civil or military Test was ever dispens'd with in favour of the Christians, even under Reigns the most indulgent to our Religion ; as remarkably appears by the Example of MARINUS, a Soldier under the Emperor GALLIENUS, at a time when the Church enjoy'd a profound Peace, as we are assur'd by EUSEBIUS, (*Hist.* vii. 15.) The same is confirm'd by TERTULLIAN, (*de Idol.* c. 17.) He there puts the case, Whether it was lawful for a Christian to be a civil Magistrate ; and seems, tho a little ironically, to determine in the Affirmative, provided those idolatrous Tests (of which he gives us a long List, and most whereof were really idolatrous) cou'd be evaded by Fraud or Favour ; which case he thinks cou'd hardly ever happen, *Si hoc credibile est fieri posse.* And even this Trick, if it cou'd ever succeed, wou'd have been condemn'd by the
Christian

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Christian Church, as appears by the Case of the *Libellatici*, so often mention'd by St. CYPRIAN; who, to save themselves from Persecution, purchas'd Certificates from the Civil Officers, that they had offer'd Sacrifices, tho they really had not: which was decry'd by the Christians of that Age as a mean and unworthy Artifice, and but one Remove from Apostacy. The *Jews*, who had commonly more Favour shew'd them than the Christians, were shut out by the same Laws from all Employments, nor allow'd to bear Office in a Corporation, till SEVERUS admitted them upon Terms consistent with their Religion, (*Dig. l. 50. tit. 2. c. 3.*) But we meet with no Precedent of this kind in favour of the Christians till the Reign of DIOCLETIAN. And EUSEBIUS, (*Hist. viii. 1.*) reckons it a singular and peculiar Act of Grace in that Prince, that he dispens'd with those Laws which requir'd all Men to sacrifice, as a necessary Qualification before they cou'd enter upon any Employment, (*Euseb. Hist. vii. 15.*) There are some other military Tests, as the *annua votorum Nuncupatio*, &c. which are as inconsistent with the Christian Religion as
any

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any I have insisted on, as you may find in TERTULLIAN, (*de Corona militis*, c. 12. p. 12.) to whom, for brevity's sake, I refer you.

§ 13. I SHALL now proceed to examine the Objections you have made against this Argument. You say, the Christians abounded in the Palace, which was fill'd with *Lares*, &c. and that they might live as lawfully in the Camp as in the Court. But is there any parallel between these two Cases? Have I not prov'd by a Cloud of Witnesses, that the military Oath, and other idolatrous Tests, were exacted of the Christian Soldiers? And can you prove by one single Testimony, that the Emperor's Domesticks were oblig'd to worship the *Lares*? If they liv'd there free from Idolatry, 'tis because no idolatrous Tests were requir'd of them. And if they were guilty of it, I hope you will never excuse the Idolatry of the Camp by that of the Court. If by considerable Persons in the Emperor's Court, you mean Civil Magistrates, I readily agree with you, that a Christian might as well be a Soldier as a Magistrate: For EUSEBIUS (*l. vii. 15.*)

assures us that no Man was qualify'd for any Dignity whatsoever without sacrificing; which is confirm'd by TERTULLIAN, *de Idol.* c. 17. And the far greater part of the first-Rate Magistrates being Senators, of course were liable to all the idolatrous Tests requir'd of the Senate: for which I refer you to the first part of this Article. And 'twas for this Reason undoubtedly, that the Primitive Christians declin'd all civil Honours, (*Minutius Fel.* p. 311. *Origen*, p. 426, 7.) But to set this matter beyond all dispute, I shall produce the Authority of a whole National Synod at *Elvira* (in the beginning of the fourth Century, not long after DIOCLESIAN'S Persecution broke out) which excludes even Municipal Magistrates from the Communion for that Year, in which they bare office in their Boroughs (*Canon* 56.) And this is a plain Proof what Opinion the Church, in that Age, entertain'd of the Lawfulness of being a Civil Magistrate.

§ 14. THE Christians in the Household of CÆSAR, mention'd by St. PAUL in his Epistle to the *Philippians*, were neither Civil Magistrates nor considerable Persons:

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sons : for I understood the *ὄντια Καίσαρος* in the same sense as I do *Familia Caesaris*, in LACTANTIUS, (*de morte Persec.* c. 14.) for the Emperor's Domesticks ; that is, the Slaves and manumiz'd Servants of the Palace. 'Tis in the same manner I interpret IRENÆUS, (*l. iv. c. 49.*) where he speaks of the *Fideles in aula Regali*, under COMMODUS. And I am confirm'd in this Thought by the Authority of your admir'd ISAAC VOSSIUS, who (in his Letters to A. RIVET in defence of IGNATIUS's Epistles against BLONDEL, publish'd with Bishop PEARSON's *Vind. Ignat.*) affirms that the greatest Part of the Primitive Christians were Slaves. What Reason he had for this Opinion I can't guess, except the Names of the first Converts, which for the most part do indeed belong to Slaves ; or the Authority of JULIAN, (*apud Cyrillum*, p. 206. *Edit. Spanheim.*) who urges it as an Objection against the Honour of Christianity ; which is in good part own'd and justify'd by St. CYRIL, who exposes it very handsomly, as it well deserv'd, for a weak and trifling Argument. As for those Slaves and *Liberti*, they were employ'd in the low and

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fervile Offices of the Palace, and were in too mean a Station to have any Oaths or Tests impos'd upon them, or to have any nice Enquiry made after their Religion, and consequently might live free enough from Idolatry : For 'tis plain from TACITUS, (*Ann. xiv. 44.*) that the *Roman* Servants under NERO were allow'd to be of what Religion they pleas'd: *quibus (servis) externa sacra aut nulla.* And there is no doubt but by *externa sacra* he means the Christian and Jewish Religions. And this hint of VOSSIUS, if his Notion be right, by the way, helps me to another Argument against Christian Soldiers ; for Slaves were shut out of the *Roman* Army upon pain of Death, (*Dio p. 377. Plin. Ep. 39. l. 10.*) Nor were the *Liberti* ever list'd but upon the most pressing Exigencies, as is manifest from the whole course of the *Roman* Histories. There is indeed an Instance of an eminent Convert of St. PAUL's, SERGIUS PAULUS, the Pro-consul of CYPRUS, (*Acts xiii.*) And I wonder how so pertinent an Instance came to escape a Man so thorowly vers'd in reading of the Bible. But in this case, we ought to consider that SERGIUS PAULUS had pass thro'

thro' the idolatrous Tests that were requisite to qualify him for his Office before his Conversion; and all other Acts of Idolatry he might easily avoid, in his own Government, where he had no body to controul him. And the Pro-consulship being an annual Employment, he might, when his Year was expir'd, retire from publick Business to a private Life, as I am inclin'd to believe he did; because JULIAN (*apud Cyrillum*, p. 206.) says that he made no Figure in the World, and was not taken notice of by any Writer of that Age: which St. CYRIL, in his Answer, does not think fit to deny.

§ 15. EPAPHRODITUS was a considerable Man at Court, and Master of Requests to NERO. But is there the least Probability, or Proof, that this EPAPHRODITUS was the same with St. PAUL's? Do you, in good earnest, believe that NERO's Master of Requests was employ'd as a Messenger to carry Letters backward and forward between St. PAUL and the *Philippians*? Can you imagine that the Bishop of *Philippi* (for so THEODORET says he was) wou'd accept an Office in

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the Court, which oblig'd him to a constant Absence from his Pastoral Charge? And wou'd not this be an excellent Argument to Court-Bishops to prove the Apostolical Institution of Non-Residence? For my part, I can as soon believe that TIGELLINUS and PETRONIUS ARBITER were Christians as EPAPHRODITUS, who was a known Favourite of NERO's, and follow'd his Fortunes to the last; and, in conclusion, help'd him to murder himself: which, by the way, is an excellent sign of his being a Christian. And for this very Fact he was afterwards put to death, but not martyr'd, by DOMITIAN, as we are told by SÜETONIUS, (in *Domit.* c. 14. and *Dio*, p. 766) And PLINY alludes to it in his *Panegyrick*, c. 53. If you can produce the Authority of any profane or ecclesiastical Writer that he suffer'd Martyrdom, I am content to give up the whole Controversy. I thought you had been the first Author of this strange Paradox; but BERKELIUS and SALDENUS had the start of you, as I find in ALBERTUS FABRITIUS, *Bibliotheca Græca*, liv. p. 257. And the Censure he passes on the Opinion of those two Criticks, very well deserves
your

your Reading. I am very willing to believe upon your Authority, that JOSEPHUS dedicated his History to this same EPAPHRODITUS; but I must first beg of you to resolve one difficulty, which I can't easily get over. JOSEPHUS addresses the History of his Life to EPAPHRODITUS, (*p.* 1032.) who was doubtless the same Person to whom he inscribes his Antiquities. In that Book he plainly mentions the Death of King AGRIPPA, (*p.* 1026.) JUSTUS TIBERIENSIS, who was Contemporary with JOSEPHUS, places the Death of that Prince in the third Year of TRAJAN (*apud Photium, cod.* 33. *p.* 20.) But NERO's EPAPHRODITUS was put to death in the fifteenth Year of DOMITIAN, five Years before, (*Dio, p.* 766.) and consequently the EPAPHRODITUS of JOSEPHUS was a different Person. 'Tis true, Mr. DODWELL (*ad Pearsonii op. posthuma, p.* 173.) corrects this Passage of JUSTUS; and instead of TRAJAN would substitute VESPASIAN. And Dr. ALDRICH (*ad Joseph. de Bello Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 14.) changes the Reading into DOMITIAN. But this is an unsufferable Liberty, to set up their own Conjectures without

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the least warrant from any Manuscript to support them. And these Corrections are plainly confuted by two excellent Medals produc'd by Mr. SPANHEIM, (*de Usu Numis.* p. 533. *Lond. Edit.*) which prove King AGRIPPA alive in the sixth and fifteenth Years of DOMITIAN: from whence I conclude, that the common Reading in PHOTIUS is the true one. And if so, can any Man believe that JUSTUS cou'd possibly mistake in the Relation of a Fact which fell out in his own Time and Memory?

§ 16. YOUR next Objection is drawn from the Example of CORNELIUS the Centurion; who, you say, continu'd in the Army after his Conversion to Christianity. But for this you bring no other Proof but the great Names of SELDEN and GROTIUS; which may be an Argument to my Modesty, but not to my Judgment. The Bible is silent on this head, and the Proofs from thence are equal on both sides. To me it seems most probable, that he quitted the Army, if I may be allow'd to argue from the common Practice of the Primitive Converts, who sold their Lands, parted with

with their Employments and Professions, and left all to follow Christ and the Apostles: and TERTULLIAN seems plainly to intimate as much, (*de Cor. Mil.* c. 11.) and more plainly, (*de Idol.* c. 19.) And this was certainly the receiv'd Opinion of the antient Church; otherwise, after so plain a Precedent in Scripture to the contrary, it was impossible that all the Fathers of the next Age cou'd have so universally agreed in decrying the Lawfulness of War, and consequently of serving in the Army. But to reduce this Argument to a short Issue, either the Tests before-mention'd were then in force, or they were not; if not, the Example of CORNELIUS can never warrant the Lawfulness of serving in the Army at a time when we are sure they were in force: if they were then in force, I wou'd fain know if you think St. PETER wou'd have given the least Countenance to such Idolatry and Hypocrisy. But my Opinion is, that they were then in force, as appears by several Instances I have already produc'd. And 'tis very unlikely they shou'd be dispens'd with under such a blasphemous idolatrous Tyrant as CALIGULA, in whose Reign

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BARONIUS and Bishop PEARSON (*Anal. Paul.* p. 4.) have rightly plac'd the Conversion of CORNELIUS, and not under TIBERIUS as you suppose. And besides these Tests which were common to all Soldiers, 'tis plain from TERTULIAN, (*de Idol.* c. 19.) that all above the Rank of the *Milites Caligati*, or private Soldiers, lay under the *necessitas immolationum*, under the necessity of sacrificing (to the Heathen Gods;) which is confirm'd by EUSEBIUS, (*Hist.* vii. 15.) And for those Reasons I am of opinion that CORNELIUS quitted the Service when he imbrac'd the Christian Religion,

§ 17. I AM very much mistaken in the nature and force of my Arguments, if I have not prov'd, beyond all reasonable exception, that there were such military Tests, that they were impos'd on all Soldiers without distinction, and that they were inconsistent with Christianity. And from these Premises there results this just and necessary Conclusion, That there either were no Christians in the Army of ANTONINUS, or else that they were guilty of gross Idolatry, and consequently
were

were incapable of working Miracles. At the same time, I readily own that there were Christian Soldiers in the third Century, who, by the Principles I have laid down, must of course be Occasional Conformists. To this you object, that if the Christians then serv'd in the Army, I ought from thence to have concluded, that they might lawfully do it. But I can never allow this way of reasoning to be conclusive, till you first prove that all the Christians of that Age liv'd up fully to the Principles of their Religion: But till that's done, you must give me leave to think that your Argument has more Charity than Force in it, as I shall prove by some enlightning Instances before I have done with this Head. I alledg'd, that this Practice took its rise in the third Century, when the Severity of the Christian Discipline began to abate. But since you won't allow that the Christians departed from their primitive Purity before the Reign of CONSTANTINE, much less that they were guilty of so crying a Corruption as Occasional Conformity, 'tis my Business to prove it in the following Sections.

§ 18. WHAT say you in the first place to CYPRIAN's Complaint of the Corruption of the Christian Discipline, about the middle of the third Century? *Traditam divinitus Disciplinam Pax longa corruerat*, (de lapsis, p. 88. Amster. Ed.) Does not EUSEBIUS (*Hist.* viii. 1.) set forth the prodigious Decay of the primitive Zeal and Piety, at the end of the same Century, in very lively Colours? And does he not derive it from the same Cause, the too great Ease and Plenty they enjoy'd? ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεον ἐλευθερίας. Does not TERTULLIAN in effect say the same thing? (*de Fugâ in Persecut.* c. 1.) That the Severity of the Christian Discipline was rais'd and reviv'd by Persecution, and consequently slacken'd and grew remiss under a Toleration. And 'tis to the long Peace the Church enjoy'd from the Death of ANTONINUS to the tenth of SEVERUS, that I ascribe the Rise of this Corruption and many others, which are set in a true Light by TERTULLIAN, in his Books *de Idolol. de Spectaculis*, &c. This appears even in one Instance, which tho in it self very inconsiderable, yet shews how fast the Christians

Christians were declining from their primitive Rigour. 'Tis the case of the Soldier who refus'd to wear the Garland of Flowers on the donative Day, and was blam'd for his unseasonable Zeal, as they call'd it, by a great number of the Christians of that time: tho till then TERTULLIAN assures us that 'twas the receiv'd Opinion, confirm'd by the constant Practice of the Church from the first Rise of Christianity, that 'twas unlawful to wear the Garland; which is confirm'd by MINUCIUS FELIX and CLEMENS ALEX. (*Pædag.* ii. 8. *p.* 179, 180, 1.) BARONIUS has very unjustly censur'd TERTULLIAN for his precise Severity on this head; for if he has fairly stated the case, and these Garlands were really worn in honour of the Heathen Gods, as both he and CLEMENS (*ib.*) expressly affirm, I think his reasoning to be very right. 'Twou'd be endless to recite all the Examples of this kind which you may find in TERTULLIAN; but he has given us one very extraordinary Instance, which deserves to be taken notice of; *Adleguntur in ordinem Ecclesiasticum Artifices Idolorum*, (*de Idol.* c. 7.) Was not that an excellent
Trade

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Trade for Clergymen to drive, and is it not a good Argument of the loose Discipline which was growing up in that Age?

§ 19. THERE are numerous Instances in that Age of Occasional Conformity, by which I mean a mercenary Compliance, when there was no Persecution afoot, with the Pagan Worship. TERTULLIAN'S whole Book, *de Idolol.* is one continu'd Satire on Occasional Conformity, of which the Christian Soldiers were notoriously guilty, as appears by TERTULLIAN'S Soldier, who was not cashier'd barely for refusing to wear the Garland, but because by that Act, and afterwards before his Officer, he had declar'd himself a Christian; which shows that no profess'd Christian was then allow'd in the Army, and consequently that his Comrades who stay'd behind, the *tot Commilitones*, all dissembled their Religion, and conform'd in outward Appearance to Paganism: which was agreeable enough to the loose Principles which began to prevail in that Age, *Nemo se debet promulgare*, (Tertull. *de Idol. c. 22.*) Many other Christians of that Age made no conscience of assisting at the

the Heathen Sacrifices, without any necessity, (*Lactant. de mort. Persec. c. 10.*) And even under JULIAN, (*Pruden. Apotheo. v. 530, &c.*) tho that Usage was expressly condemn'd by the Synod of *Elvira*, (*Canon 59.*) But I have another Instance behind, which is still more extraordinary. 'Tis of some Christians who made no scruple of being Heathen Priests, (*Lactant. de mort. Persec. c. 10.*) *Quidam Ministrorum scientes Dominum cum assisterent immolanti, &c.* What these *Ministri* were, he explains a little lower, *qui sacris ministrabant*; that is, the lowest Order of the Pagan Hierarchy, as the *Popæ, Victimarii, Aeditui, &c.* describ'd by MANILIUS, (*l. v. v. 340.*) *Atq; auctoratos in tertia jura Ministros*; and mention'd by OVID in *Fast. i. v. 319. Tac. Ann. xiii. 27. Lucan. i. v. 612. Juvenal Sat. xii. v. 14. Schol. Virgil. Georg. iii. v. 488. Servius ad Æn. viii. v. 270. ad Æn. xi. v. 558.* who all use the word *Minister* in the same Sense, as I understand it in LACTANTIUS. And that 'twas no uncommon Practice for Christians to accept of Heathen Priesthoods, is most certain from the Council of *Elvira* (in the very beginning of the

fourth Century) which was forc'd to make several Canons to forbid that scandalous Usage, (*Can. 2, 3, 4, 55.*) which are admirably well explain'd by Mr. AUBESPINE Bishop of *Orleans*, in his learned Notes on that Synod ; where he has fully prov'd that this infamous Custom continu'd long after the Establishment of Christianity. After these notorious Instances, I hope you will allow that there was such a thing in those times as Occasional Conformity, and founded on the same mercenary Principles, but infinitely more scandalous than that of the present Age. I am sensible these are shocking and invidious Truths, and very contrary to the Ideas we have taken up of the universal Sanctity and Purity of the Christians in those Times, upon the Credit of HALLOIX, CAVE, DUPIN, and other second-hand Writers, who are all Praise and Panegyrick on this Subject, and have shown us their bright side, but drawn a Veil over their Faults and Failings. There appear no Examples of this kind in the second Century, from any Ecclesiastical Writers that I know of ; and therefore we may reasonably conclude, that that Age was wholly free from this Corruption.

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ADRIAN, I confess, (in his Letter preserv'd by VOPISCUS, in the Life of SATURNINUS) charges the Christians of *Alexandria* with worshipping *Serapis*, and other Acts of Idolatry : But allowing that Letter to be genuine, which may be very justly question'd, it can never be understood of the Orthodox Christians. For my part, I understand it with BARONIUS of the *Gnosticks*, who liv'd in that City, where BASILIDES had newly founded or revived that damnable Sect, (*Euseb. Chron. Hist.* iv. 7.) whose Principles were never to suffer for any Religion, and therefore comply'd with all, (*Euseb.* 36.) And tho in outward Appearance they made Profession of Christianity, yet 'tis plain by their Practice that at the bottom they thought all Religions alike. For which Reason JUSTIN MARTYR denies them to be *Christians*, (*Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 253.) And ADRIAN's Character agrees perfectly well with the Doctrines and Actions of such Miscreants.

§ 20. HAVING fully made good what I undertook to prove, That many gross Corruptions had crept very early into the

third Century, in which number I reckon the Practice of serving in the Army, I shall now consider the last Objection you have offer'd against this Article, That 'tis very unaccountable that there shou'd be no Christian Soldiers under ANTONINUS, tho in thirty Years after it cannot be deny'd but there were some. To this I answer, that if I cou'd assign no Reason for this sudden Change, yet if I have prov'd the Fact by Authors of undoubted Credit, this Argument can never have any weight, unless you'll set up bare Probabilities in opposition to positive Proofs. But I have assign'd a very probable Reason for it, the long Toleration from ANTONINUS to SEVERUS, and illustrated it with parallel Instances from CYPRIAN and EUSEBIUS, who ascribe the Growth of all Corruptions in the Church to the same Causes: Besides, I have demonstrated by many Examples, that the Christians, in case their Principles wou'd have allow'd them to serve, were shut out of the Army under persecuting Reigns; and you have neither thought fit to deny the Fact, nor offer one Syllable to disprove the Consequence I had drawn from it, except what
has

has been already answer'd. But after all, why do you think this Alteration so very extraordinary? Are there no Precedents to be met with in Church History of as sudden turns in Points of far greater Importance? Did not the World almost universally, in a far shorter space of Time, turn from Orthodoxy to *Arianism*? Did not the whole Body of the People of *England*, at the Reformation, in the compass of twelve Years, change their Religion three times? But to come nearer home to the present Age, han't we seen as quick turns, even of passive Principles, in our own Days, and in our own Country? In those Instances I have produc'd, the Change was universal: But in the present Case 'twas only a corrupt Practice of some particular Persons, condemn'd by the Fathers of that Age, and never warranted by the Authority of the Church, as I have shown at § 9. nor do the numbers of the Christian Soldiers, at that time, appear to have been considerable. They seem most of them to have been converted in the Army; and a good part of them, upon their Conversion, quitted the Service, as we are assur'd by TERTULLIAN, (*de Coron. mil. c. 11.*)

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And if you'll take ORIGEN's Word for it, in his Answer to CELSUS, which was written about the middle of the third Century, under the Emperor PHILIP, a known Favourer of Christianity, there were then no Christian Soldiers in the Army, (*Origen contra Celsum*, p. 427.)

§ 21. THERE remains nothing of your Answer to examine, but your last Observation on this Article, That XIPHILIN is the only Writer who directly affirms that this Legion was intirely compos'd of Christians. But does not NICEPHORUS almost as expressly assert, and EUSEBIUS as plainly intimate, the same? And you will pardon me if I think you are the first Man who ever understood either of them in another Sense. GREGORY NYSSEN makes the whole or the far greater part of the Legion to be Christians. The other Authors indeed differ very widely from this Account. TERTULLIAN and the *Alexandrian* Chronicle say nothing like it: and OROSIUS and PAULUS DIACONUS expressly contradict it, and say the Miracle was wrought by *rudis parvusq; militum numerus*. And the Author

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thor of ANTONINUS's forg'd Epistle says, they bore no Arms, and consequently were no Soldiers : and their disagreement in most other Particulars of this Story is very remarkable. ANTONINUS led his Army in Person, according to EUSEBIUS in his History, and XIPHILIN : But the same EUSEBIUS, in his Chronicle, and the *Alexandrine* Chronicle, says he was absent, and that the Army was commanded by PERTINAX. TERTULLIAN mentions nothing but a Shower of Rain, which refresh'd the *Roman* Army ; the rest all tell you, that the Enemy's Army was defeated by a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, at the same time. And GREGORY NYSSSEN differs from all the rest, in almost every Article of his Relation. Here is a very hopeful Evidence summ'd up, and I'm mistaken if a Jury wou'd find a Bill upon the Testimony of such Witnesses as vary'd in every Circumstance of the Story. To me, I am sure, the clashing of the Christian Writers, in so many material Heads of the Miracle, is a good Argument of the Imposture of the whole : For 'tis a plain Proof that 'twas warranted by no authentick Memoirs of the Age in

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which 'twas said to happen, but built all upon common Fame and Tradition, the worst Authorities in the World: Otherwise, all Writers must have concurr'd in every material Circumstance of the Story. Truth is one, but Falshood is infinite.

*A Defence of the second Article,
That the Thundering Legion did
not take its Name from this Mi-
racle.*

ALL the Advocates for the Miracle having given up the Article in debate as a Point never to be maintain'd, I took it for granted you wou'd not dispute it; for which Reason I was very short in my Arguments on that head: But since you are resolv'd to take up the Cudgels in defence of APOLLINARIS, you will give me leave to examine the Reasons you have produc'd, and to offer some new Arguments to make good my Charge against him.

§ I. I FIND we are pretty well agreed that the *Legio Melitena* of EUSEBIUS,

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BIUS, is a Chimerical Legion of his own Invention, and that he was led into this Error by mistaking the name of the Place where it was quarter'd for the name of the Legion it self. 'Tis very probable that DIO and EUSEBIUS mean the same Legion, viz. the 12^{ma} *Fulminatrix*. DIO says, 'twas posted in *Cappadocia*, in which Province *Melitene* lay. The *Notitia* and PROCOPIUS both place it at *Melitene*. The same Legion serv'd in *Armenia* under NERO, (*Tac. Ann.* xv. 6.) was from thence remov'd to *Syria*, and afterward imploy'd at the Siege of *Jerusalem* under TITUS, (*Tac. Hist.* v. 1.) and 'tis very probable was one of the Legions added to *Cappadocia* by VESPASIAN, (*Suet. in Vesp.* 8.) where we are sure 'twas quarter'd in DIO's time. But to set this matter beyond all dispute, we have the express Testimony of XIPHILIN, that DIO, in his Catalogue of the Legions, has mention'd this very wonder-working Legion: now 'tis plain he has mention'd no other *Legio Fulminatrix*, but the 12^{ma} in *Cappadocia*, and which is consequently the same with the *Melitenian* Legion of EUSEBIUS and XIPHILIN. All this you do not only grant,

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but contend for; which is very strange, since 'tis plainly giving up the Point in dispute: For if the *Melitenian* Legion of EUSEBIUS be the very same with the *12ma Fulminatrix* of DIO, 'tis most certain it cou'd not take its Name from this Miracle, since it had that Name under TRAJAN and AUGUSTUS, almost two Centuries before the Date of this Miracle.

§ 2. IN the next place, you insist that there was another Legion of the same name; which if you cou'd prove, wou'd be no advantage to your Cause, since you own that the *Thundering Legion* of XI-PHILIN and EUSEBIUS was the same with DIO's; which, you confess, had that name long before the Reign of ANTONINUS. But even in this I must beg leave to differ from you: There is no Fact, I know of in History, more certain than that there was no other *Legio Fulminatrix* in the Reign of ANTONINUS, nor long after. DIO (*l. lv. p. 564.*) has given us a List of all the Legions of AUGUSTUS, and all the new ones that were rais'd by the succeeding Emperors, as low as the Reign of SEVERUS ALEXANDER, where his History ends. No other Legion

gion of that Name is mention'd by him, nor in the Itinerary of ANTONINUS, nor the *Notitia*. There appears no other *Legio Fulminatrix* in the Catalogue of the Legions preserv'd in the *Inscriptio Capitolina*, which is later than DIOCLESIAN, and has been publish'd by GRUTER, LIPSIUS, PANCIROLLUS, but most correctly of all by PATIN in his *Suetonius*, (p. 377.) nor in any other Inscription or Medal now extant. From all which, 'tis as clear as the Sun, that there was no other Legion of that Name for the first three or four Centuries : And if you cou'd produce any other, it must have been rais'd long after the Reign of ANTONINUS, and cou'd do no manner of Service to your Cause.

§ 3. AS for your Argument from GOLTZIUS, you must pardon me if I think your Memory has deceiv'd you. The Criticks who have defended this Miracle, had all read GOLTZIUS; and if they had found such a Medal in him, wou'd not have fail'd to urge it in behalf of their Cause. I am apt enough to believe that the same Legion may be mention'd in several Coins of GOLTZIUS,
but

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but not different Legions of the same Name. This Legion, you say, is fix'd at *Melitene* by the *Notitia*, with a particular note of Distinction; which implies there was another of that Name somewhere else. But what note of distinction is it mention'd with? Was it not the design of the *Notitia* to give a short view of the civil and military Government of the Empire? And to this end, has it not set down the Places where all the Legions, Cohorts, and Squadrons were posted? Are not the first and fifteenth Legions set down in the same Chapter, with the same notes of Distinction? And all the rest of the Legions mention'd in the same manner, in other Parts of that Book? And may you not, by this way of arguing, double all the Squadrons and Legions in the *Notitia*?

§ 4. TO show you all imaginable fair play, and to let you see that I contend for Truth, and not for Victory, I will for once furnish you with a Passage of CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETUS, (in his Treatise, as I believe, *de Thematibus*) which may seem, at first sight, to favour
your

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your Opinion of two Thundering Legions. 'Tis cited by SCALIGER, in his *The-
saurus Temporum*, in these Words, ὡς ἡ λε-
γεὼν ἡ τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἐλέγχετο κεραυνόβηλος καὶ ἄλλη
πισιδικὴ; which I render thus, *Sicut Le-
gio 40 martyrum Fulminatrix dicebatur,
& alia Pisidica*. As for the Legion of
the 40 Martyrs, we know from PROCO-
PIUS, as cited by PANCIROLLUS on the
Notitia, that 'twas the same with the
12ma Fulminatrix. These 40 Martyrs
suffer'd under LICINIUS: And you may
read the History of their Martyrdom in a
whole Homily of St. BASIL on that Sub-
ject, and the miraculous Discovery of
their Reliques in SOZOMEN, (*l. ix. c. 2.*)
all which I want Faith to believe: And
I pity, from my heart, the hard Fate of
this poor Legion, to be made the Subject
of so many Ecclesiastical Legends. As for
the *alia Pisidica*, I don't well know whe-
ther he means there was another Legion
firmam'd *Pisidica*, or another *Pisidian* Le-
gion firmam'd *Fulminatrix*; for the Words
will bear both Senses. If the last Sense
be the right one, you have a Voucher
for two Thundering Legions. But this
Legio Pisidica Fulminatrix is like the
Meli-

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Melitenian, unknown to all the Writers of the four first Centuries; and if there were ever any such, it must have been either new rais'd, or new nam'd, under the *Byzantine* Emperors, and consequently can do no manner of Service to your Cause. Besides, you know how little stress is to be laid on the Authority of a Writer of the tenth Century. However, I desire you to transcribe this Passage of CONSTANTINE at large, with what goes before and after, that I may be able to make a right Judgment of it. You will find it, I presume, in the first Volume of the *Byzantine* Historians, with his *Excerptæ Legationes*, which, I think, you told me were in Canon FOULK's Library.

§ 5. I SHALL wind up this Article with a judicious Remark of VALESIIUS on this Subject: He blames EUSEBIUS for citing neither the very Words nor the particular Treatise of APOLLINARIS, from whence he took this Relation; which looks like an Intimation, as if he question'd the Accuracy of EUSEBIUS in this matter: and I think he had good Reason
to

to suspect it. EUSEBIUS (iv. 27.) owns that all the Works of APOLLINARIS, which came to his hands, were written before the Rise of *Montanism*, and consequently before this Miracle, except his Book against the *Montanists*, which was a very improper Place to relate this Miracle, the *Montanists* being indeed Hereticks but no Heathens: which makes me suspect that EUSEBIUS took this Relation upon Tradition or Trust, from some Persons who pretended to have seen it in some Work of APOLLINARIS, which he never met with, and which perhaps was never extant, or was perhaps spurious. I am confirm'd in this Opinion by the silence of TERTULLIAN, and all the following Writers, (except XIPHILIN and NICEPHORUS, who copy from EUSEBIUS) who never wou'd otherwise have omitted so signal a Circumstance of the Story, especially when 'twas attested by an eminent Father, who liv'd in the very time when the Miracle was wrought. Besides, 'tis the Custom of EUSEBIUS, on most other Occasions, to cite the very Words of his Author, as he has done TERTULLIAN's in this very Chapter ;
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and those Citations are the most valuable part of his History. From all which, I am apt to think EUSEBIUS never saw this Book of APOLLINARIS, nor any body else; and therefore I am willing to acquit APOLLINARIS of my Charge against him, and fix it on the Negligence of EUSEBIUS.

*A Defence of the third Article,
That ANTONINUS never ascrib'd
this Miracle to the Prayers of
the Christians.*

MY Argument in defence of this Article, from the silence of all the Heathen Historians, you answer by charging it on their Bigotry and Malice to the Christians, and that they cou'd not own the Fact without believing Christianity: But there appears no such Passion and Prejudice in their Writings as you represent. TACITUS, tho a profess'd Enemy, clears them from the Guilt of burning *Rome*, (*Ann.* xv. 44.) And PLINY gives them a just and noble Character, in his celebrated Epistle, (x. 97.) And LUCIAN (*de morte Peregrini*)

grini) himself, tho he laughs at their Religion, does them ample Justice in owning their steadiness to their Principles, their Charity and Bounty, with their other moral Virtues; and seems to treat them with Respect in his *Pseudomantis*. They are never once nam'd with Reproach by DIO, or the six Writers of the *Historia Augusta*, and frequently with Honour by MARCELLINUS. Nor were the Heathens oblig'd, by the Principles of their Religion, to reject all Christian Miracles without Exception. Many of their Writers, as well as the *Jews*, acknowledg'd the Miracles of *Christ*, without being Converts to Christianity; for the first ascrib'd them to *Magick*, as the last did to *Beelzebub*. The Miracles under JULIAN and THEODOSIUS, are own'd with great Candor by MARCELLINUS and CLAUDIAN; and St. JEROM assures us, that even PORPHYRY and EUNOMIUS acknowledg'd the Miracles which were wrought at the Tombs of the Martyrs, (*vid. Huet. Dem. p. 41.*) And after all, this Argument proves too much, and may be turn'd directly upon you. For by the same Rule ANTONINUS cou'd not believe
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the Miracle, as you say he did, without turning Christian, which we are sure he did not. This Argument can never be answer'd upon your Principles: But I shall take no advantage of it, because I think you are mistaken in your Position, it being apparent from the Instances I have produc'd, that the Heathens might and did own some Miracles of the Christians, without such a Contradiction to their Principles as you suppose, and without the least danger of turning Christians. I intirely agree with you in what follows, that the Heathens never ascrib'd any publick Benefit to the Christians, as you prove from *Tertul. Apol. c. 40.* to which I may add another Passage in his Discourse to SCAPULA, c. 4. On the contrary, 'tis certain in the main, that as long as Paganism prevail'd, they charg'd all the Miseries and Misfortunes of the Empire on the Atheism and Impiety of the Christians; and upon any publick Calamity the common Cry was, *Christianos ad Leones.* This you confess, tho it intirely ruins your own Hypothesis: For if this be true, how came such a Bigot and Persecutor as ANTONINUS to ascribe this Victory to their
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their Prayers? If he quitted his Bigotry on this occasion, why, by the same parity of Reason, might not the Heathen Historians, who of all others, as I have prov'd, gave the fairest quarter to the Christians, have done them the same Justice? In such a case, I think it as incredible as ever, that so many candid and impartial Writers shou'd all, with one consent, conspire to disown so memorable an Event; which, as you say, gave a new Name to a Legion, was attested by ANTONINUS in his Letter to the Senate, and spread all the World over by the imperial Edicts in favour of the Christians.

§ 2. AFTER you had flatly deny'd that the Heathen Writers, by the Principles of their Religion, cou'd ever yield the Christians the Honour of this Miracle, you make them give it up by a side wind, in ascribing it to the *Chaldeans*; by whom, you say, the Christians were meant. And this you prove by the help of two very precarious Suppositions, that the Heathens confounded the Christians with the *Jews*, and the *Jews* with the *Chaldeans*. As for the first, I am willing

to allow it in the first Rise of Christianity ; because the first Christians were all *Jews* : But when our Religion had gain'd footing among the Heathens, they were well enough acquainted with the Distinction, as appears by their different Treatment of both. Sometimes the *Jews* were persecuted, and not the Christians, as under VESPASIAN, (*Euseb. Eccl. Hist. iii. 17.*) At other times the Christians, and not the *Jews*, as under TRAJAN, and the ANTONINI ; and after the great Rebellion of the *Jews* under ADRIAN, when they so barbarously massacred the Christians for refusing to abjure their Religion, and bear Arms against the *Romans*, the Distinction grew notorious to all the World. From that time, the *Jews* were the most avow'd Enemies of the Christians. 'Twas they gave rise to those villanous Reports which expos'd them to the Rage of the Heathens, (*Orig. contra Cels. lib. 6. p. 293, 4.*) and were the most active Instruments in promoting all the succeeding Persecutions, (*vid. Acta Polycarpi, & Euseb. v. 16.*) All the Writers about this time well knew the Difference between them, as ADRIAN in his Letter, preserv'd
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by VOPISCUS, (*in Saturnino*) CELSUS, GALEN, and others. And I know of no Writer near the Age of ANTONINUS (for ARRIAN, so often cited on this occasion, speaks only of the *Jews* properly so call'd) that confounds them.

§ 3. THAT the *Jews* were ever styl'd *Chaldeans* by the Heathens, I utterly deny: And HUETIUS, who first started this Argument, is mistaken in every Instance he has produc'd to prove it. PHILO might not improperly call the *Hebrew* Language the *Chaldean*, because 'twas a Dialect of it: But will he from thence infer that the *Jews* were call'd *Chaldeans*? By the same Rule the *Scots* might be call'd *English*. Besides, PHILO was a *Jew*. The same Answer will serve to your Argument, from SOLOMON'S Proverbs being call'd a *Chaldean* Book: For tho you han't nam'd your Authors, I'll venture to tell you before-hand, they were either *Jews* or Christians. In his next Instance of the *Chaldean* Oracle, the *Jews* and *Chaldeans* are not confounded, but plainly distinguish'd, as STANLEY, LE CLERC, and every body else understands it. As

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for the following Instance, the Paraphrast of DIONYSIUS's *Periegesis* does not there speak of the *Jews*, but the *Phœnicians*; and 'tis probable, from the beginning and end of his Poem, that he was a Christian. I never heard of such an Oracle in PORPHYRY as you mention: But NICEPHORUS (i. 17.) and SUIDAS (in *Αὐγύστης*, p. 488.) tell us of an Oracle deliver'd to AUGUSTUS, (*me Puer Hebræus*, &c.) which had such an Effect on the Emperor, that he forthwith erected an Altar with this Inscription, *Ara primogeniti Dei*: which is an excellent Story, and fit to keep company with the *Thundering* and *Thebæan* Legions. 'Tis plain that none of these Instances prove what Mr. HUET contends for: nor can any good Reason be assign'd why the Heathens shou'd confound the *Jews* with the *Chaldeans*, unless they had thought them originally *Chaldeans*, which the far greater part of the Heathen Historians never acknowledg'd. STRABO, (l. xvi.) TACITUS, (*Hist.* 5.) CELSUS, (l. iii. p. 114.) DIODORUS SICULUS, (l. xxxiv. *Eclog.* 1.) CHÆREMON, LYSIMACHUS, APION, and APOLLONIUS, (*apud Joseph.*

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seph. contra Apion) all derive them from the *Egyptians*: And 'tis probable that HERODOTUS, (*l. ii.*) and PLUTARCH, (*Sympof. iv. 5.*) were of the same Opinion. JUSTIN (*l. xxxvi.*) fetches them from *Egypt* and *Damascus*. MANETHO, 'tis true, allows them not to be *Egyptians* originally, but plainly intimates that they were no *Chaldeans*, (*apud Joseph. ib.*) TACITUS indeed says, that some deriv'd them from the *Assyrians*, &c. but his whole Relation is so agreeable in all its Circumstances to the *Mosaick* Account, that I am perswaded he took it from JOSEPHUS, whose Antiquities were newly publish'd, and not from any Heathen Authors; for otherwise JOSEPHUS wou'd never have fail'd to produce so strong a Testimony against APION in vindication of his own History. NICHOLAUS DAMASCENUS (who was either a *Jew* or a judaizing Heathen) does indeed make ABRAHAM a *Chaldean*, and if I mistake not, ALEXANDER; *Poly-Histor*. But their Authority was never follow'd or regarded by the Current of the Heathen Historians.

§ 4. BUT shou'd I allow you that the *Jewish* and *Chaldean* Nations were sometimes confounded by the Heathens, what Advantage cou'd you gain by this Concession? For LAMPRIDIUS and CLAUDIAN, by *Chaldeans* don't mean the Name of a Nation, but a Sect of judiciary Astrologers which had its first Rise in *Chaldea*; and from thence by degrees, in after Ages, the Name was apply'd indifferently to Astrologers of all Nations whatsoever. Thus all *Profelytes* to the *Jewish* Religion were styl'd *Jews* by the Heathens, (*Dio* xxxvii. p. 37.) and all *Pagans* were call'd *Greeks* by the primitive Christians; and all *Magicians* and *Necromancers* *Magi*, from the *Magi* of the *East*, where the Sect first began. And even to this day, all our strolling Fortune-tellers are call'd *Gypsies*, or *Egyptians*, whose Posterity they falsly pretend to be, (*Camerar. Hora Subsc.* i. 17.) That all Astrologers were indifferently call'd *Chaldeans*, appears from A. GELL. (xiv. i.) *Qui sese Chaldaeos, seu Genethliacos appellant*: And a little lower he plainly distinguishes the original *Chaldeans* from those of his own Age; from

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JUVENAL, (*Sat.* 10.)—*Caprearum in rupe sedenti cum grege Chaldaeo* ; i. e. says the old Scholiast, *Magi & Mathematici* : and SULPICIUS SEVERUS, (*l. i. c.* 14.) styles the *Egyptian Magicians, Chaldeans*. To confirm this, TACITUS (*Ann.* iv. 58.) says, most of TIBERIUS's Companions at *Capreae* were *Greeks* ; and THRASYLLUS's chief Conjuror was an *Egyptian Greek of Mendes*. The same may be infer'd from CICERO, (*de Divinat.* i. 1.) when he speaks of the *Chaldeans* properly so call'd, *Non ex Artis, sed ex Gentis vocabulo nominati* ; which implies it was the Name of a Sect as well as of a Nation. The *Mathematici* and *Chaldaei* are confounded by SUET. (*in Vitell.* c. 14.) and by ANTONINUS, (*l. iii. c.* 3. *l. iv. c.* 30.) And even ARNUPHIS, to whom DIO attributes the Miracle, was an *Egyptian Greek*. BEROSUS first brought the *Chaldean Learning* into Greece, (*Vitruv.* ix. 7. p. 196. *Joseph. contra Apion.* lib. i.) where it quickly took root, and from thence it pass'd into Italy. And I make no doubt but that the *Chaldaei* and *Mathematici*, so often mention'd in the

Roman Story, were (except some few *Romans*) all *Grecians*.

§ 5. IN the sense you have given to CLAUDIAN's Verses, you have offer'd the greatest Violence imaginable to the plain and natural Meaning of the Words. Can any thing be more obvious, than that he there speaks of the magical Charms of the Heathens, and not of Christian Hymns and Prayers? Do not DIO, and the nameless Authors cited by SUIDAS (*in Arnuphim & Julianum*) who are the best Comments on CLAUDIAN, make the Miracle wrought by the Invocation of the Heathen Gods? Don't they name the very *Magicians* concern'd in it, ARNUPHIS and JULIANUS? And were they not both *Pagans*? By this way of interpreting Authors, I'll maintain the wildest Paradox in the World, and prove with as good Reason that ANTONINUS was *Pope* of *Rome*, because he was PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. But that these Authors are not to be understood in your sense, is manifest from EUSEBIUS, who expressly declares that all the Heathen Writers deny'd the Christians the Honour of this Miracle; which

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which he had never said, if there had been the least Colour or Pretence to interpret DIO, LAMPRIDIUS, or any of them from whom CLAUDIAN took his Account, in favour of the Christians.

§ 6. I DON'T see what Advantage you can draw to your Cause from ANTONINUS's Letter to the Senate. Was it unusual for the Emperors to write Letters to the Senate? Do you think that any Emperor ever won a Victory, without acquainting the Senate with it? And what else was the Subject of this Letter, but an Account of his Victory, with an Apology to the Senate for accepting the Title of *Imperator*, without consulting them? But is there the least hint or intimation in DIO, that this Letter ascrib'd the Victory to the Christians? The Presumption is much stronger on t'other side; for if ANTONINUS had imputed this Victory to the Christians in his Letter, how came DIO to give it to ARNUPHIS and the Heathen Gods? Ignorant of the Contents of the Letter he cou'd not be; for he was a Senator under COMMODUS, and had free Access to their Journals. His Sincerity

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rity can't well be suspected, having never shewn the least Malice or Prejudice to the Christians in the whole course of his History.

§ 7. IN the next place, you try to invalidate the Testimony of the Heathen Historians, by shewing, from ANTONINUS's own Writings, how mean an Opinion he entertain'd of Wizards and Conjurers. But this, I crave leave to tell you, is another of your Arguments that proves too much : For if this Passage in his Works, as you seem to understand it, is level'd without distinction at all Exorcists and Pretenders to Miracles, the Christians, as well as the *Jews* and Heathens, must be included in that number ; and I am persuaded that, like LUCIAN in the *Philopseudes*, he had the Christians chiefly in view, when I consider the Severity with which he treated them, and the constant Scorn and Contempt which, thro' a fatal Blindness, he express'd for them to the very last, as I shall show at large in my defence of the following *Article*. So that this Argument concludes as strongly against his believing a Christian as a Heathen

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then Miracle. MERICK CASAUBON makes this Reflection not to extend in general against these Arts and Professions, but only against the Abuse of them by Cheats and Impostures ; which, after all, is the most probable Opinion : For otherwise the Principles and Practice of ANTONINUS can never be reconcil'd. 'Tis certain, he consulted the *Chaldeans* upon some Occasions ; of which we have a remarkable Instance in *Capitol. c. 19.* And he mentions them in other parts of his Works without any marks of Reproach, (*l. iii. c. 3. l. iv. c. 30.*) When the Pestilence rag'd so dreadfully in the Empire, after the ordinary Remedies had fail'd, he made no scruple to have recourse to foreign Rites and Ceremonies, (*Capitol. c. 13.*) by which, I believe, are meant magical Sacrifices and Lustrations, with Charms and Spells, as is probable from LUCIAN'S *Pseudomantis*. But the most signal Instance of his Credulity in this kind, is his obeying the Directions of the Oracle, deliver'd by ALEXANDER, that notorious Cheat, (*Lucian Pseudomant.*) And I see no reason why, in such a pressing Extremity, he might not as well have recourse

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course to the Charms of the *Magicians*, as to the Oracle of such an infamous Impostor on another occasion.

§ 8. IN the next place, I shall vindicate the Authority of the Pillar and the Medal, from the Objections you have rais'd against them. I can see no Contradiction, as you objected to me at *Exeter*, between the Pillar and the Medal, tho one attributes the Victory to JUPITER, and the other to MERCURY. Do you think, that in such a multitude of Pagan Gods, the same Event may not be ascrib'd to more Gods than one? of which Examples without number might be produc'd. Does not DIO, our best Guide, affirm that this Miracle was wrought by the Interposition of MERCURY and other Gods? of which number, 'tis probable, JUPITER was one. 'Tis well known that JUPITER, with all his Thunder, might be drawn down by the force of Inchantments, *Sacris quibusdam, & imprecationibus Fulmen cogi*, (Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 53. xxviii. 2.) and from thence he took the Sirname of ELICIUS, (*Plin. ib. Liv. i. 20. Ovid. Fast. iii. v. 327.*) This alone

alone wou'd be a full Answer to your Objection ; but I'll offer you a fairer Solution of this pretended Difficulty. MERCURY was here esteem'd as the ministerial and secondary God ; while JUPITER, as the great Ruler of the World, was consider'd as the chief and primary Agent in this Miracle. The *Mercurius Aerius* of DIO is the same with the *Mercurius Supremus* of SERVIUS, (*ad Virg. Æn. 4. v. 574.*) who executed the Commands of JUPITER in the Air, *Deus æthere missus ab alto*, (*Virg. ib.*) *Fert horrida jussa sub auras*, (*ib. v. 356, 378.*) *Jussa per auras verba patris porto*, (*Ov. Met. 2. v. 743.*) MERCURY, we all know, was JUPITER's Minister, (*Lucian Dial. inter Maïam & Merc.*) And from thence he is styl'd *Ministrator* in the Inscriptions, and was the properest God to be imploy'd on this occasion ; because he was a magical God, (*Pruden. contra Symmach. Apuleii Apol.*) and presided over the Sphere of Water, (*Macr. in Somn. Scip. i. 11.*) This Notion is agreeable not only to the philosophical, but even to the popular System of the Pagan Theology, as is apparent from PLAUTUS in his Prologue

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to *Amphitryon*, v. 40, &c. There you see that all the Benefits the Heathens receiv'd by the immediate Ministry of MERCURY, and their other subordinate Gods, were ascrib'd to JUPITER as the remote and supreme Cause. And the same is confirm'd by TERTULLIAN in his *Apolo-logy*, c. 24.

§ 9. I HAD urg'd the Authority of the Pillar and the Medal, to prove that ANTONINUS did not ascribe this Victory to the Christians. To evade the force of this Argument, you make both these Monuments to be pure Acts of the Senate, on purpose to rob the Christians of the Glory of this Deliverance. But this would have been a very sorry Expedient to stifle the Memory of a Miracle, which had been already publish'd all the World over by the surname of a Legion, and the Emperor's Letter and Edicts, which were all sufficient Memorials to preserve it upon Record. But how do you prove that the Medal was struck by order of the Senate? There appears nothing like it in three Descriptions of the Medal in SPANHEIM, WALKER, and PAGI; and there-

therefore I must take it for granted, that 'twas stamp'd, like most other publick Medals, by the Emperor's Direction. The Date and Inscription of the Pillar I have forgot, and shall take it upon your Credit to have been erected by order of the Senate. From whence you infer, that ANTONINUS had no hand in it; which is a very wrong Conclusion: For the Emperor's Consent was virtually included in every Vote of the Senate, as much as the Queen's in an Act of Parliament. As *Princeps Senatûs*, he was a Member of the Senate; and by virtue of his Tribunitian Power he had a negative Vote, (*Dio lib. liii. p. 508.*) and nothing cou'd pass the House without his Concurrence and Approbation. Do you think these *Homines in Servitutem nati*, as TIBERIUS justly styl'd them, wou'd have openly flown in the Emperor's Face, and given his Letter the lye? To believe them capable of so bold a step, one must have a very wrong Idea of the absolute Power of the Emperors, and of that Submission and Obedience without reserve, which the Senate always paid them. Perhaps you'll press me with the Example
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of the Senate's refusing to concur with TIBERIUS, in enacting Divine Honours to Christ, because the Emperor himself had declin'd them. This is another of TERTULLIAN's Fables. But allowing it to be true, was it possible for the Senate to make a higher Complement to their Prince? Flattery is never so artful and refin'd as when it carries an Appearance of Liberty. And this new way of making their court to the Emperor was found out by the Senate of that Age, when all the old Topicks were grown stale; *Ea sola Species adulandi supererat*, says TACITUS, (*Ann. i. 8.*) I need not observe to you how wide a Difference there is between these two Cases. But you alledge, that this Pillar was owing to the Bigotry of the Senate, and their Malice to the Christians. But I must crave leave to tell you, that even this is a very improbable Conjecture. 'Tis well known that CONSTANTINE the Great cou'd influence the Heathen Senate, and People of Rome, to erect a triumphal Arch, still extant, in memory of his Victory over MAXENTIUS, with an Inscription, owning that
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he had rescu'd the Empire *instinctu Divinitatis*; which is a manifest Allusion to the miraculous Vision which appear'd to him, as he pretended, before the Battle. Not that the Senate believ'd a Syllable of the matter: For what Opinion the Heathens entertain'd of this Vision is apparent from ZOSIMUS, (*lib. ii.*) Yet nevertheless, they made no scruple to pay the Emperor this Compliment. Do you think the Senate of CONSTANTINE paid him more Reverence and Respect, who had two Heathen Sharers in the Empire, than ANTONINUS's Senate paid him, who was absolute Master of the whole Empire? Can you suppose the Senate, at that juncture, shou'd less Zeal for their Religion, when 'twas in manifest Hazard of Ruin, than under ANTONINUS, when there was no such Danger in view? In short, the Senate always fear'd their Emperors more than their Gods, and wou'd have voted the Honour of the Miracle to any God, or Religion, ANTONINUS had bid them. From what I have now said, it seems very plain that ANTONINUS and the Senate acted in concert, in this matter, and both join'd in ascribing this Victory to their

own Gods, as appears by the Authority of two publick Monuments, which are the best and most undoubted Vouchers for the Truth of any antient Fact, and can never lye in misrepresenting the declar'd and avow'd Sense and Opinion of those who set them up ; and consequently ANTONINUS never attributed it to the Christians, as TERTULLIAN pretends : For 'tis impossible both these Accounts can be true, unless you suppose the most extravagant thing in the World, that ANTONINUS was capable of acting so mean and inconsistent a part, and so unworthy of his Character, as to set up publick Monuments in downright Contradiction to his own Letter and Declarations. 'Tis as great a Paradox to suppose that he divided the Honour of the Miracle between two Religions, which were as opposite as Heaven and Hell, the Truth of one necessarily supposing the Falshood of the other. The Queen might as well appoint a Thanksgiving to Christ and Mahomet for the Victory of *Mons*. And what can be oppos'd to all these invincible Difficulties and Contradictions but the Authority of such a credulous Enthusiast as

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TERTULLIAN, who was far gone in the Heresy of MONTANUS before he wrote his *Apology*, as I shall prove under its proper Head in defence of *Article V.*

P. S. THAT Passage of PHILO which I have consider'd § 3. is best explain'd by Dr. ALLIX, in his Letter publish'd in SPANHEIM's Treatise, *De præst. Numismat.* p. 72. *Ed. Lond. Duplex fuit apud Judæos Character, unus sacer, quo libri sacri conscribebantur. Ille magis ad Chaldaicum characterem accessit quàm Samaritanus, unde etiam videtur Philo, lib. ii. de vita Mosis, legem Chaldaicè scriptam asserere.*

A Defence of the fourth Article,

That ANTONINUS, after this Deliverance, never publish'd any Edict in favour of the Christians.

THIS a very good Argument that there never was any such Edict publish'd, because no Writer, near the Age of the Miracle, says a Word of it: For

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TERTULLIAN's Edict is no other than that of M. ANTONINUS, and not his Father's, as you suppose, *ad Communitatem Asiae*. That Sentence of TERTULLIAN, where he mentions the Edict, (*Apol. 5.*) has no Relation or Dependance on the preceding one. His Design is to shew that the Christians were only persecuted by the bad Emperors, and favour'd by the good; of which he gives two Instances in ANTONINUS, the first in his owning the Miracle wrought by their Prayers; and the next in the Edict he publish'd in their favour. But it does not appear either from him, or his Translator EUSEBIUS, that the Edict was the Consequence of the Miracle; the contrary manifestly appears from all the following Writers, who, 'tis plain, never understood him in that Sense: For not one of them, tho' all make mention of ANTONINUS's Letter to the Senate, (as SCALIGER rightly observes) wherein he ascribes the Victory to their Prayers, say a Syllable of any Edict in their favour: nor do any of them pretend that the Christians had the least Benefit by the Miracle, (*vid. Orosium, Alex. Chron. Euseb. Chron. Histor. Miscell.*) Nor does

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does APOLLINARIS, who liv'd when the Miracle was wrought, give the least hint of an Edict, either as he is cited by EUSEBIUS, or more largely by NICEPHORUS, tho he makes the Emperor attribute the Victory to the Christians. From the silence of all these Writers, and the exact Agreement of TERTULLIAN's Edict, with that of ANTONINUS, (*ad Comm. Asiae*) for by both the Christian was to be acquitted, and the Informer punish'd, one may reasonably conclude that these Edicts were the same. I expect to hear you charge me with advancing new and unheard-of Paradoxes; and 'tis well I have so good a Second as VALESIIUS on my side, (*ad Euseb. lib. v. c. 5, 21.*) He there tells you, that TERTULLIAN's Edict, and this of ANTONINUS, are all one. And 'tis plain he cou'd not think it had any Reference to the Miracle, because he fixes the Edict to the first Year of ANTONINUS, (*ad Euseb. iv. 13.*) and the Miracle to the fourteenth, (*ad Euseb. v. 5.*) which shows he understood TERTULLIAN in the same sense I do. As for ANTONINUS's Letter, which gives the Honour of this Deliverance to the Christians,

tians, not a man of all the Writers who mention it, pretends to have seen it; not even TERTULLIAN, as his own Words manifestly imply. Is it not very extraordinary that this Letter shou'd have the ill-luck to escape the Curiosity of so many Authors, who were concern'd in Interest to have found out and preserv'd so illustrious a Testimony against the Heathens? How came EUSEBIUS to miss it, who, with such Care and Industry, has collected all the original Monuments of those Ages, relating to the Church? This Argument, as I had urg'd it in my former Discourse, very well deserv'd an Answer, if it wou'd have born one. As for the Edict, the first Writer I know of who mentions it, is the Author of the spurious Letter at the end of JUSTIN's *Apology*, who liv'd, as SCALIGER guesses by his Style, about the Age of JUSTINIAN. I confess that he understood TERTULLIAN in your sense; and upon this mistaken Authority, has jumbled together the Letter and the Edict, and confounded two Events which were so many Years asunder. And XIPHILIN, who wrote in the eleventh Century, might borrow this Circumstance

of the Story from him. This Edict, which I presume you allow to be spurious, is a good Argument that there never was a true one; for then there had been no need of a forg'd one. 'Tis in vain to say it was lost: 'Tis in a manner impossible that so signal an Edict cou'd be lost, when so many others, of far less Importance, are still extant. You may almost as well suppose, that twenty Years hence not one Copy of the *Toleration-Act* shou'd be left in *England*.

§ 2. BUT tho you are not pleas'd to give any Account how this Edict came to be lost, you are very certain that there was such an one publish'd; because, you say, it took effect in the Punishment of APOLLONIUS's Accuser. But how does that appear? Mr. DODWELL (*de paucit. Mart. sub Commod*) is of opinion, that this Accuser suffer'd by virtue of ADRIAN's Rescript to FUNDANUS, without dreaming of this Chimerical Edict. no more than HUETIUS and VALESIIUS, who think the Informer was punish'd pursuant to ANTONINUS's Edict, *ad Comm. Asiæ*. And as for their Reasons, I leave

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you to examine them. EUSEBIUS says, 'twas *κατὰ βασιλικὸν ὄρον*, *ex Edicto Imperatoris*. And since no Emperor is nam'd, it ought, in common Construction, to be understood of a Law made in favour of the Christians, by the Emperor then reigning, COMMODUS: and this appears to me to be the true and natural Meaning of this Passage. 'Tis evident that the Punishment of this Informer cou'd never be founded on TERTULLIAN'S Edict: For by that Law the Informer only was to be punish'd, and the Christian to be discharg'd; which happen'd quite otherwise in the Case of APOLLONIUS. I speak this upon supposition that PAMELIUS'S Reading is the right one, which I take for granted; because 'tis most agreeable to all the old Editions, to the Manuscripts, and to common Sense, to which RIGALTIIUS'S Reading can never be reconcil'd. And that this was the Reading of all the old Copies, appears from its agreeing so exactly with the spurious Edict father'd on ANTONINUS, by an Impostor of the sixth Century, who, in all likelihood, as I observ'd before, drew the Plan of his Forgery from this Passage of TERTULLIAN,

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LIAN, whose Apology was translated into Greek long before, (*Euseb.* ii. 2.) So that this Accuser cou'd never suffer by virtue of this Edict ; yet nevertheless, tho the Story of APOLLONIUS be foreign to the Business in hand, I will, for once, go out of the way to examine the Authority of that whole Relation ; which appears to me very romantick, and can never be true in all its Circumstances. And I am the more willing to make this Digression, because the chief Arguments I shall urge against it will conclude as strongly against the Reading of RIGALTIIUS. VALESIUS was very sensible of the Difficulties and Inconsistences which occur'd in this Story, as well as in that of the *Thundering Legion*, and has given broad hints of his opinion of both, but durst not speak out, because the Church of *Rome* never parts with a *Miracle*, or a *Martyr*.

§ 3. IN the first place, there never was since the Creation of the World, such a monstrous Absurdity ever enacted by any Lawgiver in his Wits, as to make it Death for any Informer whatsoever to accuse and convict a Man of a Crime, which
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was Death by the known Laws of the Land to commit. If to be a Christian was so unpardonable an Offence, why, in the name of wonder, was it made criminal to accuse them? If 'twas no Crime, why were they punish'd with Death? And wherefore were not the penal Laws against them repeal'd? But, says EUSEBIUS, it was enacted by an antient Law, that no Christian Convict shou'd escape Punishment, unless he renounc'd his Religion. But this is false in fact, as appears from the Practice of all the Emperors, from the first Persecution down to the Reign of COMMODUS. DOMITIAN restor'd all the Christian Exiles, (*Tertull. Apol. 5.*) and NERVA acquitted all that were accus'd of Christianity, (*in' ascelia, Dio p. 769.*) And TRAJAN exempted them from Punishment, if his Rescript to TIBERIAN be genuine, (*vid. Malelam. p. 356. Suidam in Trajano.*) Does not ADRIAN's Rescript to FUNDANUS direct, that all Christians upon their Tryal, unless convicted of some Crime against the State, shou'd be discharg'd, (*Euseb. Hist. iv. 9. and Chron.*) And does not M. ANTONINUS's Edict (*ad Comm. Asiae*) enact the same

same in exprefs Words? Not to mention feveral other Refcripts of ANTONINUS PIUS, all to the fame purpofe, in confirmation of ADRIANUS, as they are cited by MELITO in his *Apology*, (*Euseb.* iv. 26.) And under all Persecutions there were great numbers of Confessors, who were never Martyrs. Now if this Law was fo facred and fundamental a part of the Government as never to be broken in upon, how came it that fo many wife and moderate Princes, who were moft of them Enemies to Chriftianity, and affected the Glory of governing by Law, made no fcruple to fupersede it? and that fo lawlefs and arbitrary a Prince as COMMODUS, and fo known a Favourer of the Chriftians, fhould be fo tender of the Conftitution, as not to exert his abfolute Power in difpenfing with it, efpecially when his chief Minifter and Governor PERENIUS fhould fo much Inclination to have fav'd APOLLONIUS. But I can never think there was fuch a general Law as EUSEBIUS mentions, made either by TRAJAN, as VALESIIUS fupposes, or by any of his Predeceffors: And if there ever had been fuch a Law in force, it
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was repeal'd over and over by the Edicts of his Successors, long before the Reign of COMMODUS. Another Circumstance of this Story seems very extraordinary, that there cou'd be found any Person so void of common Sense as to accuse a Christian for his Religion, when he was sure of meeting a certain Death for his Reward: There are some other Inconsistencies in this Relation, which VALESIUS has taken notice of, and pretended to offer a Salvo for in his Notes, to which I refer you. As for the Difficulties I have touch'd upon, they appear to me so very weighty, that I cannot get over them; and if you will not allow them to affect the main Substance of the Story, you must give me leave to think that they intirely destroy the Credibility of these two Circumstances, upon which your Argument is founded.

§ 4. IN the next place, I shall consider more fully the Edict mention'd by TERTULLIAN, which I take to be no other than the Rescript *ad Comm. Asiæ*, or the general Assembly of the *Proconsular Asia*, to which the chief Cities sent their
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Deputies, to consult of their publick Games and Solemnities, in honour of the Emperors. This Edict is still extant in EUSEBIUS, (*l. iv. c. 13.*) tho it was not publish'd, as he pretends, by ANTONINUS PIUS, but by MARK ANTONINUS, as the Title and Date of the Edict manifestly show. SCALIGER first discover'd this Blunder of EUSEBIUS, and has been follow'd by HUETIUS, PEARSON, DODWELL, VALESIIUS, PAGI, and the rest of the modern Criticks, who all agree in ascribing it to M. ANTONINUS, for Reasons that can never be answer'd. It bears date in the fifteenth Year of his Tribunitian Power, which is coincident with the first of his Reign, as appears from the Medals, none of which exceed the thirty fourth Year of his *Trib. Pot.* which shows 'twas the last Year of his Reign, *A.C. 180.* and consequently his first *Trib. Pot.* began *A.C. 147.* and his fifteenth *A.C. 161.* which was the first of his Reign. The same is confirm'd by CAPITOL. (*in Anton. c. 6.*) who says he had the Tribunitian Power conferr'd on him by ANTONINUS PIUS, at the Birth of his eldest Daughter, who was marry'd to VERUS about

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seventeen Years after, in the second of third Year of his Reign. This *Epocha* of his Tribunitian Power is confirm'd by so many other Synchronisms, and concurrent Testimonies from Medals and Inscriptions, that I am surpriz'd to see so great a Critick as Bishop PEARSON (*Vind. Ignat. p. 2, 162.*) fix this Edict to the fifteenth Year of his Reign : At which rate he must connect the first Year of his Tribunitian Power with the first Year of his Reign ; which can never be true, for the Reasons already alledg'd. But this is only a Mistake of that great Man, thro Hasten or Inadvertency, in which no body has thought fit to follow him. I will not give my self the trouble to transcribe the Reasons which induc'd the modern Criticks to assign this Edict to M. ANTONINUS, contrary to the Authority of EUSEBIUS. You may find them in PAGI and VALESIUS, who will give you ample Satisfaction on that head. Nor will I repeat the Arguments I have already urg'd, to prove it the same with TERTULLIAN's Edict. I am not ignorant that the Authority even of this Edict may be justly question'd ; but be it true or false, 'tis undoubtedly very

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very antient : otherwise EUSEBIUS had never inserted it into his History. And I see no Reason, allowing it to be a Forgery, why it might not as well impose upon TERTULLIAN as upon him. To sum up this long Argument in few Words, I have made it very probable that this Edict is the same with TERTULLIAN'S. I have prov'd PAMELIUS'S Reading to be the true one, and ruin'd the Credit of those Circumstances in the Story of APOLLONIUS, on which your Argument is founded : And if I am right in either of those three Points, your whole Argument falls to the ground of course. I shall now pass on to a Vindication of my Arguments, to prove that ANTONINUS persecuted the Christians after the Date of this Miracle, from the Objections you have rais'd against them, and offer some new Proofs to make good my Assertion.

§ 5. You suppose, upon the Authority of Bishop LLOYD and Mr. DODWELL, that the Persecution of *Lyons* broke out A.C. 167, and not 177, as I had fix'd it on the Credit of EUSEBIUS'S History. Their Argument from the *Annus Agonalis* of the
Ludi

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Ludi Lugdunenses, which, I own, upon their Hypothesis, can never be coincident with the Year 177, labours under this great Difficulty, that neither of them has offer'd one Syllable to prove those Games to have been *Quinquennial*, besides a bare *probabile est*, which is a very indifferent Proof. And unless that Point be thorowly establish'd, the Argument has no manner of weight in it. PAGI, in his Reply, has offer'd several Reasons to prove these Games annual, which I need not transcribe, (tho I think them for the most part very cogent and conclusive) because you have the Book by you: He has likewise refer'd the Reader to A. B. DE MARCA's Book, *De Primatu Lugdunensi*, who has defended the same Cause, which Book I never saw. The *Chron. Euseb.* as explain'd by PAGI and PEARSON, (*Vind. Ignat.* p. 2, 160.) does not contradict his History; and if it did, the Authority of the History ought to be preferr'd, because 'twas last written. To prove this Persecution not to have happen'd A. C. 167, I shall only insist upon two Arguments of Bishop PEARSON, (*Vind. Ignat.* ib.) which are both drawn from the Letter of the
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Confessors of *Lyons*, just before their Martyrdom, to Pope ELEUTHERIUS, concerning the Heresy of MONTANUS: which plainly shows, that this Persecution was under Pope ELEUTHERIUS, and after the rise of *Montanism*; in which are two notes of Time that can never agree to that Year.

§ 6. THAT ELEUTHERIUS was not Pope in the Year 167, is confirm'd by the Authority of all the antient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers, to a Man; and never contradicted by any one till EUTYCHIUS arose, an *Arabian* Writer of the tenth Century, who betrays such Ignorance in the whole Course of his History, that I am surpriz'd to see such a Critick as Mr. DODWELL prefer his Authority to all the old Writers of the Church. If they were mistaken in their Chronology, how came so late a Writer by a better Light? If he was so exact in his History of the Church of *Rome*, why do Mr. DODWELL and his Friends reject his Authority, in his Accounts of the Government, and Discipline of his own See, which he had best Reason to be well inform'd of? But that's

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a *Noli me tangere*. Bishop PEARSON has given a just Character of this Patriarch in his *Vindic. Ignat.* (p. 1, 173.) and in his Posthumous Works, (p. 141.) tho there, to serve a turn, he has follow'd his Authority too much; and yet, in fixing the Age of SOTER and ELEUTHERIUS, he has thought fit to discard him, and stick to the old *Latin* Accounts, (*vid. p. 34.*) For my part, I entertain the same Opinion of his History; which, upon no occasion, can deserve the least Respect or Credit, much less will I reject the Testimony of all the old Authors upon the Authority of so late and lying a Writer.

§ 7. MY next Argument is drawn from the *Montanists* being mention'd in the Letter of the Confessors to Pope ELEUTHERIUS; which is a plain Proof the Persecution was after the Year 167, because that Heresy was not then in being, as we are assur'd by EUSEBIUS in his *Chronicon*, who fixes the first rise of it to the Year 171. Bishop PEARSON, in his *Vind. Ignatianæ*, espous'd this Opinion, but has thought fit to retract it in his Posthumous Works, p. 214. for Reasons that are

very obvious. DAILLE's Argument from the $\Sigma\gamma\eta$ of VALENTINUS, bore very hard on the Epistles of IGNATIUS; and to evade this Difficulty, the Bishop was forc'd to thrust back, by head and shoulders, the rise of that Sect, and all the other Heresies of those Times, to make VALENTINUS and IGNATIUS Contemporaries. Mr. DODWELL assures us that he wrote this whole Book with no other view; and his being so strongly bias'd by the Cause he was then maintaining, is a fair Account for the change of his Opinion.

I SHALL next examine his Reasons. His Argument drawn from a Passage of TERTULLIAN, in his Book against PRAXEAS, is a mere Conjecture of his own, and a very groundless one; as Mr. DODWELL has prov'd, (in his *Dissert. Singul. &c. p. 174, 5.*) And the Authority of the nameless Writer, publish'd by SIRMONDUS, can never be allow'd; because no body knows who he was, or when he wrote. Nor will this Author do him any service, if EUSEBIUS has rightly fix'd the Death of Pope SOTER, to the Year 176. All that remains to be con-

sider'd, is the Authority of EPIPHANIUS, who fixes the *Epocha* of *Montanism* to the nineteenth Year of ANTONINUS PIUS, *A. C.* 156. But EPIPHANIUS is so miserable an Historian, and so perpetually in the wrong in all his Accounts of Time, (as his Commentator PETAVIUS has long ago observ'd, and even upon this very occasion) that his Authority, in a point of Chronology, is never to be depended on, much less ought it to be set in competition with the Testimony of EUSEBIUS, who was a profess'd Historian and Chronologer. Among innumerable Examples which might be produc'd of his Ignorance or Negligence in these matters, I shall instance only in one signal Mistake of this kind, in his History of the preceding Heresy, (*p.* 391.) where he places the Martyrdom of JUSTIN under the Reign of ADRIAN, tho the Apology of that Father, address'd to the Successors of ADRIAN, the ANTONINI, be still extant. And I leave you to judge what Credit an Historian deserves, who is capable of committing such shameful and monstrous Mistakes?

§ 8. BUT to return to EUSEBIUS. In his Chronicle he has fix'd the *Epocha* of *Montanism* to the Year 171, which agrees very well with his History, where 'tis plac'd after the Apology of APOLLINARIS, (*l. iv. c. 27.*) which was publish'd A.C. 170, according to the *Alexandrian* Chronicle. EUSEBIUS took his Accounts of this Heresy from Authors who all liv'd in the Age of MONTANUS, or very near it; who, he says, had furnish'd him with ample Materials for that Subject. And 'tis morally impossible he cou'd be mistaken in placing the rise of it, when one of his Authors, ASTERIUS URBANUS, has so precisely fix'd it to the Proconsulship of GRATIUS in *Asia*; a Character of Time, which, tho we are ignorant of, he cou'd not well be a stranger to. The Author of the Catalogue of Heresies, (at the end of TERTULLIAN's *Præscript.*) comes pretty near this Account, in joining it with TATIAN's Heresy; which began, according to EUSEBIUS's *Chronicon* in the Year 172. And the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, instead of carrying it as high as EPIPHANIUS, places it yet lower than

EUSEBIUS. But the Authority I chiefly insist on, is the Testimony of EUSEBIUS: And the whole matter in dispute may be reduc'd to this short Issue, Whether he, or EPIPHANIUS, is most worthy of Credit; which is a point, I think, considering the Character of the latter, which can admit of no dispute. GRABE, in the *Prolegomena* to his *Irenæus*, has urg'd an excellent Argument to confirm this Account of EUSEBIUS, to which I refer you, (*Sect. ii. c. 2.*) I am very much mistaken if those Arguments do not plainly prove that the Persecution of *Lyons* ought to be set lower than the Year 167. Nor is there any necessity, allowing Mr. DODWELL's Supposition, that the Games were Quinquennial, to limit them precisely to this particular Year, since there are other Years of ANTONINUS's Reign *Agonales*, as well as this; as for instance, 171, 175, 179. 'Twas for this Reason, that Bishop PEARSON, being sensible that the Arguments against the Year 167 were unanswerable, has taken a middle way, and fix'd the Persecution to the Year 175; which Hypothesis solves all the Difficulties on both sides. And I shou'd certainly close

close with it, if I thought the Games Quinquennial. But till that Circumstance is thorowly prov'd, I see no Reason why we shou'd depart from the *Epocha* of EUSEBIUS; with which Account the *Alexandrian* Chronicle pretty nearly agrees, in placing it but the Year before, *viz.* 176. But allowing EUSEBIUS to have misplac'd the Persecution of *Lyons*, does he not in that Chapter say, that the Persecution rag'd, and made innumerable Martyrs in other parts of the World, that very Year 177? And will you say, that he is also mistaken in the date of their Sufferings? You may as well question the Truth of any other Transaction recorded in his History. For my part, I cou'd never meet with any Arguments which cou'd shake the Credit of either of these Accounts. And if Criticks will take the liberty of rejecting the Authority of good Writers upon Conjectures so ill founded, there is an end of all Certainty in History. I shall conclude this Section with one Observation, That I am firmly perswaded the chief Motive which induc'd EUSEBIUS to question the Truth of this Miracle was, that

he plainly saw that 'twas inconsistent with the Persecutions which follow'd it.

§ 9. I SHALL now pass on to my other Proofs, that ANTONINUS persecuted the Christians after the date of this Miracle. And my first Authority shall be the *Alexandrian* Chronicle, which (in the only Edition I have seen, publish'd by SCALIGER without Notes or Translation) under the first Year of COMMODUS, has these Words, ἔτος ὃ Κόμμοδος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ Κεκαθήσεως παύει τὸν διωγμὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, i. e. *Idem Commodus imperium adeptus, persecutioni Ecclesie finem imponit.* Κεκαθήσεως is a Word I can't meet with in the old or new Lexicographers; for which Reason I am of SPANHEIM's Opinion, (*de præst. Numism.* p 146, 7.) that 'tis a Word peculiar to the *Greeks* of *Alexandria*, tho not to their Medals only, as he fancies (for this Passage had escap'd him.) But he has certainly mistaken the meaning of the Word, as this Place plainly proves: And Father HARDUIN, whom he pretends to confute, has rightly render'd it, as I have done, by *Imperium*: So that ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ Κεκαθήσεως, is, *sub ejus Imperio*, or, *eo imperante.*

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EUSEBIUS agrees with this Chronicle in fixing the Toleration to the beginning of COMMODUS, as you may see by comparing the ninth Chapter (*lib. v.*) with the twenty first Chapter of the same Book, which comes next it in order of Time: For EUSEBIUS, after a long Digression, resumes the Thread of his Narration, which he had broke off at *c. 9.* The same is confirm'd by DION CASSIUS, who, in the beginning of his History of that Reign, makes COMMODUS a Favourer of the Christians; and by ASTERIUS URBANUS, (*apud Euseb. Hist. v. 16.*) who says that for thirteen Years after the Death of MAXIMILLA, the Prophetess of the *Montanists*, both Church and State had enjoy'd a profound Peace. This Mr. DODWELL very judiciously understands of the thirteen Years of COMMODUS. And indeed these two Characters of Time can agree to no other Period but his Reign, from the first rise of *Montanism* to the Age of CONSTANTINE *the Great.* 'Tis true, there were some Incurfions of the Barbarians on the Frontiers, during this Interval; but they were not of moment enough to disturb the publick Peace of the Empire, and

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were

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were of such little Consequence that they are not mention'd by HERODIAN, and but just touch'd upon by DIO. So that, by this Account, ASTERIUS wrote under the Emperor JULIANUS, or in the beginning of SEVERUS, before the Civil War between him and NIGER brake out. And if you reckon backwards from that time, you'll find that the first Year of COMMODUS must be the *Epocha* of the Toleration. From all these Authorities, it appears beyond exception, that COMMODUS put a stop to the Persecution in the first Year of his Reign. Now I wou'd fain know what Persecution COMMODUS put a stop to, except that which was set afoot in his Father's time, and which he left behind him at his Death. Not one Writer, either Heathen or Christian, makes COMMODUS a Persecutor; neither DIO, EUSEBIUS, SULPITIUS SEVERUS, nor even LACTANTIUS, tho COMMODUS dy'd a violent Death, which wou'd have suited very well with his Hypothesis. And 'tis for no other Reason but the want of this single Circumstance, that he has struck TRAJAN, the ANTONINI, and SEVERUS, out of the List of the Persecutors,

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tho they were all notoriously so. If ANTONINUS, by his Edicts after the Miracle, had restor'd Peace to the Church, EUSEBIUS wou'd certainly have dated the Toleration from that Year, and not from the beginning of COMMODUS, as he plainly does in these Words, Καὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν — κέγονον μεταβέβητο μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς; which Words in the original (for VALESIIUS has not fully express'd their Force) import that the Proceedings of the Government, with relation to the Christians, were chang'd into a gentler Treatment. Now since neither he, or any other Historian, pretends that there was a new Persecution rais'd by COMMODUS, it plainly follows that the Persecution which he stopt was that of his Father ANTONINUS.

§ 10. MY next Witnesses shall be THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS, who wiote in the first Year of COMMODUS, and says the Persecution still continu'd: For the Affairs of the Empire, for some time after the Death of ANTONINUS, ran on in their old course; and 'twas not, in all likelihood, till his return to *Rome*, and his being

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ing thorowly settled in the Government, that COMMODUS recall'd the Edicts of his Father, and gave the Christians a Toleration. To this you answer, that this Persecution was only the effect of some popular Tumults, after the Death of ANTONINUS. But this you advance without the least Proof or Probability, and contrary to the plain meaning of the Words. For do not these Expressions, *ἔτι μὲν* and *ἔως τῆς δευτέρας*, most manifestly imply, that the Persecution had been of a long standing, and not a new Commotion of the Mob? And 'tis as plain that it was not barely owing to the Cruelty of the People; for if it had not been openly encourag'd by the Government, how came Rewards and Honours (*ἀθλα καὶ τιμαὶ*) to be bestow'd on those who signaliz'd their Malice on this occasion? This is a sufficient Answer to all you have said on this head, and my Argument from THEOPHILUS stands as firm as ever.

§ II. UPON this occasion it may not be improper to consider an Argument of WITSIUS on this head, as 'tis cited by PAGI, (*ad Ann. 174.*) That Critick found

found that the Arguments for the persecuting after this Miracle, were unanswerable ; and therefore, in order to reconcile them with this Edict, he pretends they were all rais'd by the Cruelty of the Mob, and the Provincial Governors. But this is a mere Shift and Evasion : For how came the Edicts of ANTONINUS, on this occasion, to be slighted, and those of COMMODUS to be obey'd ; as EUSEBIUS (V. 21.) assures us they were ; and that by virtue of them, the Christian Churches, in all parts of the World, enjoy'd a profound Peace ? Is it likely that the loose and dissolute Reign of COMMODUS met with more Respect and Submission than the wise and steady Administration of ANTONINUS, who was lov'd and ador'd by the People ; and to all his Gentleness of Disposition, had all the Sternness and Severity which was requisite in a good Governor ? *in manifestos & gravium criminum reos inexorabilis*, says CAPITOLINUS, (*in M. Anton. c. 24.*) and wou'd never have suffer'd such barbarous Outrages to have been committed in contempt of his own Edicts and Commands. And tho I can't deny but that
some

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some Persecutions took their rise from popular Tumults, as that of *Lyons*, (*Euseb.* v. 1.) and under *TRAJAN*, (*Euseb.* iii. 32.) yet it appears from their being carry'd on afterward in the legal and regular Forms of Justice, that they were at first set on, or tacitly approv'd by the Government. The only Instance that appears of a popular Persecution, under a Prince who favour'd the Christians, was in the last Year of the weak and despicable Reign of the Emperor *PHILIP*; whose Authority was grown so precarious, that there were no less than three Rebellions against him that very Year, which ended in the loss of his Life and Empire.

§ 12. MY next Witness shall be *ANTONINUS* himself, in his own Book. But to make this Argument bear, it will be requisite in the first place to settle the Age of his Book, which I take to be all written after the Date of this Miracle. The first Book is dated in his Camp, on the River *Granua*, or *Gran*, in the Territory of the *Quadi*. *DIO* places this miraculous Victory over the *Quadi*, in the beginning of the War with them, immediately

diately after the Defeat of the *Jazyges* and *Marcomanni*, who fled into their Country for shelter. *Carnuntum* (which in PEUTENGER's Tables is plac'd a little below *Vienna* on the *Danube*, and is suppos'd to be now call'd *Hainburgh*) is agreed by all the antient Writers to have been his Place of Arms, or head Quarters in this War. And if he had advanc'd from *Carnuntum* as far as the River *Gran*, he must by that time have conquer'd and over-run the greatest part of their Territory; which shews that this great Battle was won before the Date of the first Book. The second Book is dated in his Winter-Quarters at *Carnuntum*, after his Return from this Expedition, *Pannonica hyberna Carnunti*, says PLINY, (iv. 12.) In Book the 4th c. 10. (*Meric. Casaub. Edit.*) there is a manifest Allusion to the Rebellion of CASSIUS, (*A. C. 175.*) For CASSIUS, while he thought ANTONINUS alive, had always laugh'd at him for his Philosophy, (*Vulcatius in Cassio, c. 1.*) but upon a false Report of his Death usurp'd the Empire, and declar'd him a God, (*Vulcatius ib. c. 7.*) The same Event is alluded to in the same Book, (c. 21.) for CAS-

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SIUS was the only Man who aspir'd to the Empire in his Reign. In *lib. x. c. 11.* there is a Passage relating to the *Sarmatian* War, which broke out afresh *A.C. 177.* His old Age and Infirmities, which are so often mention'd, with some other notes of Time, which for brevity's sake I omit, are all manifest Arguments that he compos'd this Book in the latter part of his Life : And no Critick, that I know of, pretends to question it.

HAVING settled the Premises, I shall proceed to my Argument, which is founded on a remarkable Passage, (*lib. ii. c. 3.*) where he says, That the Christians ran headlong upon Death, with a brutal Obstinacy. This Passage proves that there was then a Persecution on foot against the Christians, and that ANTONINUS, when he wrote, had the Sufferings of our Martyrs in his eye. One wou'd think, says Mr. DACIER, at the rate he writes, that he saw some Martyrs every day. XYLANDER wonders at it, considering his great Age, and what he had formerly written, meaning his Edict. These are the Sentiments of two great Criticks, who
judg'd

judg'd fairly and impartially ; tho 'tis apparent that neither of them was ignorant of the Consequences which might be drawn from it, to shake the Credit of a Miracle which both of them believ'd ; and it is most certainly the plain and natural sense of the Passage, and most agreeable to ANTONINUS's way of writing. But besides this, the ill Character he gives of the Christians, after this pretended Miracle, is another Proof that he never publish'd any Edict in their favour : For is it possible to conceive, that he wou'd have describ'd them as a Company of mad desperate Enthusiasts, who sacrific'd their Lives out of a fullen Stubbornness, after he had so solemnly declar'd to the World, in his Letters and Edicts, that by their Prayers they cou'd command the Elements, call for Thunder and Rain, and save and ruin Armies at their Pleasure ?

§ 13. *BARONIUS* has offer'd some probable Arguments to prove there was a Persecution at this time ; but since they are all founded on the Dates of some Laws that are not very certain, I shall not insist upon them : Nor is it necessary to

produce any more Arguments, since these I have already advanc'd prove beyond all reasonable exception, that ANTONINUS persecuted the Christians after this Deliverance. And the Consequence I have drawn from it, that he publish'd no Edict in their favour, is so certain, that I am resolv'd to trust it to its own Strength, without offering one Syllable in its defence; much less am I concern'd to vindicate the Persecutions of ANTONINUS. I think them the only Blemishes in that excellent Reign, and the greatest Misfortune that cou'd have befallen the Christians, to be persecuted by so great and good a Man.

A Defence of the fifth Article,

*That the Christians in general did
not believe this Miracle, notwithstanding the Testimony of A-
POLLINARIS and TERTUL-
LIAN.*

THE silence of all the Christian Writers, except TERTULLIAN, from the Death of ANTONINUS to the Reign of CONSTANTINE, is as strong a Proof as a negative Argument can be, that the Miracle was not generally believ'd in that Age. It might be mention'd, you say, by some Writers now lost. And it might not. And the Proofs are equal on both sides. GREGORY NYSSEN, you say, drew his Account from Authors not now extant. But he might take the Substance of the Story from TERTULLIAN and EUSEBIUS, and add the rest from Tradition and common Fame, (from whence he had his Memoirs for the Life of GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, as Mr. DODWELL assures us, *Dissert. Cyrian. iv. 16.*)

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or what is most likely, from his own fruitful Invention ; a Faculty which the Fathers of that Age, who wrote Panegyrics upon Saints and Martyrs, excell'd in : Witness his Brother BASIL's Homily upon the same Subject, with ATHANASIUS's Life of St. ANTHONY, and St. JEROM's of HILARION, and PAUL the Hermit ; which are all Master-Pieces in their kind, and no way inferior to the golden Legend. The same Answer will serve for OROSIUS and XIPHILIN. And there is not the least colour to infer from EUSEBIUS that he had found this Story in any Writers of the second or third Century, except those whom he has cited. But what excuse can you make for the silence of so many learned Apologists, whose Works are still extant ; whom you can never suppose ignorant of a Miracle, which, as you say, made so much Noise in the World, and was so near the Age in which most of them wrote ? What Motive cou'd induce them to stifle a Miracle so glorious to the Christian Cause, and so popular an Argument to the Heathens ? it being an *Argumentum ad hominem* ; which of all others is the most persuasive to an
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Adversary, because it's drawn from his own Principles and Concessions. I shall pass over TATIAN and MINUCIUS FELIX, because I am not certain whether they wrote before or after the Miracle; and IRENÆUS, because he had no occasion to mention this Miracle in his Book against Heresies; and little else of his Writings is preserv'd. I shall content my self with naming three *Greek* Fathers, THEOPHILUS, CLEMENS, and ORIGEN; and as many *Latin* ones, CYPRIAN, ARNOBIUS, and LACTANTIUS, who were the greatest and most eloquent Men of the Age they liv'd in, and the ablest Advocates that ever appear'd for Christianity, till the late Restoration of Learning. And not one of these has made the least mention of this Story, in his Writings. I wou'd fain see a good Reason produc'd for this affected silence. How came THEOPHILUS to forget a Miracle which happen'd but seven Years before he wrote his Defence of Christianity, for the Conversion of AUTOLYCUS, and which perhaps wou'd have weigh'd more with that learned Heathen than all his Arguments besides? How came it to escape the

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universal Reading and Industry of CLEMENS? Had ORIGEN given credit to it, in every Page he wou'd have thrown it in the teeth of CELSUS. How came St. CYPRIAN to miss this Miracle, he who was so known an Admirer of TERTULLIAN, and transcrib'd a good part of his Apology into his Treatise *De Vanitate Idolorum*, and yet passes this Story over in silence? What endless Triumphs wou'd ARNOBIUS and LACTANTIUS have made upon this Subject, had they believ'd it? To be short, I know no way of accounting for the silence of all these Writers, but by either ascribing it to their Sincerity and Generosity, in scorning to impose so gross a Fiction on the World, or else to their Judgment and Discretion, in not venturing the Honour of their Religion on the credit of a Story so weakly warranted. And I am apt to think that the first Broachers of this Miracle were so severely mortify'd by the Heathens for their Credulity, as taught most of their Successors to write with more Guard and Caution for the future.

§ 2. *THEMISTIUS* might have made a parallel of the Virtues of ANTONINUS

NINUS and THEODOSIUS, without affronting his Religion by denying it the Honour of a Miracle, which you suppose to have been universally believ'd in that Age. CLAUDIAN and he were both Men of Address, and Masters of all the Arts of Flattery, and were incapable of making their court so ill to two Princes who had shewn more Zeal in establishing Christianity, and rooting out the last Remains of Paganism, than all their Predecessors. Such a Compliment wou'd have been an Affront to such Religious Princes, had the Miracle been generally believ'd at that time. 'Tis in vain to charge it on their Bigotry; for it is well known that CLAUDIAN, tho a *pervicacissimus Paganus*, as OROSIUS styles him, made no scruple to cry up the Storm under THEODOSIUS for a Miracle, because the Court-Flatterers had given it that Name: which makes me think he wou'd as easily have given Christianity the Honour of this other Miracle, had it been challengd by the Christians of that Age.

§ 3. I AM not concern'd to vindicate the Candor of EUSEBIUS, or any other

Church-Historian. I wish I cou'd always excuse them: But I am thorowly perswaded that he did not believe this Miracle. You see with what an Air of Distrust he begins his Relation: λόγος ἔχει, *There goes a Report.* And tho a little lower he makes a faint Complement to the Sincerity of the Christian Writers, he closes all with this cold Expression, *But of this matter let every man judge as he thinks fit.* Does not this plainly imply, that he question'd the Truth of the Fact? 'Tis as much as if he had said, I have told you this Story, and nam'd my Authors, but will not answer for the Truth of it. 'Tis in this sense that VALESIIUS understands him; and a greater Man than he, Bishop PEARSON, in his *Vindiciæ Ignat.* Part ii. p. 161. *Tum vero narrationem quandam statim interserit de Legione Fulmineâ, quam velut incertum relinquit.* I hope the Authority of this learned Prelate, for whom you profess so profound a Respect, will have its due weight with you on this occasion.

§ 4. THAT TERTULLIAN had imbrac'd the Heresy of MONTANUS before
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he wrote his Apology, and his Treatise to SCAPULA, in which Pieces only he makes mention of this Miracle, may be very easily prov'd. That he was turn'd *Montanist* before he compos'd his Discourse *De Coronâ Militis*, is apparent from this Passage, (c. 1.) *Planè superest ut etiam Martyria recusare meditentur, qui Prophetias ejusdem Spiritûs Sancti respuerunt.* Is not this a plain Allusion to the Prophecies of the *Montanists*, which he condemns the Catholicks for rejecting? And to what other Sect does the Principle which he asserts, of not flying in time of Persecution, belong? This demonstrates that he was then a *Montanist*, and no body pretends to deny it. This Treatise was written before the Persecution of SEVERUS, as appears from the very next Sentence, *Mussitant deniq; (Christiani) tam bonam & longam sibi Pacem periclitari.* That is, the Christians, by this rash and indiscreet Act of the Soldier, thought themselves in danger of losing the Toleration they had so long enjoy'd. Does not this Sentence plainly prove that he wrote this Piece before the Persecution broke out? (vid. *Pagi ad Ann. 199.*) And
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'tis as certain that his Apology, and Treatise to SCAPULA, were written long after, in the heat of the Persecution, as appears from the whole tenor of both of them, is confess'd by all the World, and needs no Proof; and consequently he was a *Montanist* when he wrote them. His believing the Dreams and Visions of old Women, shows him the most credulous Writer in the World, (*de Animâ* c. 9.) as SPONDANUS has long ago observ'd. And as for his Enthusiasm, I refer you to his Character drawn by MALEBRANCHE. You see upon what excellent Authority the whole Credit of your Miracle rests. As for APOLLINARIS, I refer you to my Defence of the second Article.

A Defence of the sixth Article,

That the Deliverance of the Roman Army, tho undoubtedly true, was no Miracle.

I N answer to this Article, you have not offer'd one Syllable to prove the Deliverance of the *Roman Army* to be a supernatural Event or Effect, which is
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Archbishop TILLOTSON's, and Mr. LOCKE's Definition of a Miracle, and which perfectly well agrees with the Miracles of our Saviour. His raising Men from the dead, the Eclipse at his Passion, with his Resurrection and Ascension, are solid and substantial Miracles, and exceeded all the Powers of natural Causes. These were infallible Proofs of his Divine Mission, and a rational ground for Mankind to embrace his Religion; and were admirably well contriv'd by the Divine Wisdom to make way for the Conversion of the World, by leaving no room for Infidels to ascribe his mighty Works to the standing Laws of Nature, or the ordinary Course of second Causes. But what is there in your Miracle that might not be wrought by natural Means? Or what has it peculiar to distinguish it from the parallel Instances I have produc'd, and which you deny to be Miracles? And to which I shall add two more, *viz.* The Storm of Thunder which drove the *Persians* from *Delphi*, (*Herod. lib. viii.*) and gave SEVERUS's Army the Victory over NIGER's, (*Dio p. 643.*) Was it the nice Juncture in which it happen'd? But that Circum-

stance is common to them all. Is it to be thought a Miracle, because it is cry'd up for one by all the Historians who relate it? And were not the Facts I have produc'd, cry'd up for Miracles by all the Historians who relate them? And is not the Authority of my Historians as good as that of yours? But I wonder to see you urge the Opinions of these Writers as an unanswerable Argument to prove this Victory a Miracle: For if they have given us true matter of Fact, we are best Judges whether 'twas a Miracle or not; because we are far better Divines and Philosophers than they were. In short, my Facts are so intirely parallel with yours, in all their Circumstances, that you must of force admit them to be all Miracles, or give up your own. If you grant the first, I know where to have you: If the last, you yield the point in debate. If you will do neither, I must beg of you to lay down some common Criterion to judge when such strange and odd Events, which you own to be sometimes perform'd by natural Means, are miraculous, and when they are not.

§ 2. THE Victories of the great Conquerors of Antiquity, which you seem to ascribe to a miraculous Power, were all conducted by the common Methods of Providence, whereby God Almighty always proportions Means to Ends, and never fails of suitable Instruments to accomplish all his wise Designs; otherwise Miracles might be multiply'd without end. CÆSAR by *Fortune* never meant *Providence*; for he was an *Epicurean*, as appears from his Speech in *Sallust*, and Cato's Reply. Your Instance of the Defeat of *Sisera*, proves nothing but that the *Jews*, by the favour of a bright starry Night, which was no wonder, destroy'd their Enemy's Army to a Man. This Sense, among all the various Interpretations I have seen of this Place, seems to me the most natural. But I wonder that a Man, so well vers'd in the Scriptures, shou'd have recourse to so obscure a Text, when so plain and parallel an Instance lay in the way; I mean, the Defeat of the *Philistine* Army by Thunder, obtain'd from Heaven by the Prayers of SAMUEL. This Fact, tho it cannot properly, in the

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strict and genuine sense of the Word, be styl'd a Miracle, because it did not surpass the Powers of natural Causes, yet it must be own'd to have been an extraordinary Act of Providence, and well deserves a Place in the lower form of Miracles; because 'twas preternatural, and not perform'd by the ordinary Concurrence of second Causes, but by the immediate hand of God, as SAMUEL expressly testifies. And when you can bring as good Vouchers that the Deliverance of ANTONINUS was wrought in the same manner, I shall be content to allow it in the same Quality: But till that is done, you must give me leave to set it on the same level with the parallel Histories I have produc'd, and to consider it as one of those extraordinary Accidents which PLINY (*Ep. 13. lib. 9.*) calls *fortuita, sed non tanquam fortuita*, that were mere Chance, but did not look like Chancee.

§ 3. IN the next place, you draw up a heavy Charge against me, for saying, *That when Christianity had been once establish'd by undoubted Miracles, 'twas high time for them to cease, because God Almighty*

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mighty never wastes them in vain. I confess I am no *Divine*, and if I ventur'd out of my depth, 'twas upon the Authority of so great a Man as Bishop STILLINGFLEET, who was never thought to misrepresent the Sense of the *Reform'd Churches* upon this Head. His Words are these, (in his Examination of the Miracles of the Church of *Rome*, p. 665.) " The
" —Doctrine of Christ, and his Apostles,
" being thus confirm'd by the Miracles
" wrought by them, there cannot be any
" such necessity, in succeeding Ages, to
" confirm the same Doctrine by Miracles,"
(*vid. p. 691.*) P. 666. he has these following Words, " God, we are certain,
" doth not imploy his Power in going
" beyond the common Effects of Nature,
" to little or no purpose ; that is, never
" wastes Miracles in vain." I wou'd fain know what I have said on this Subject that can't be fairly warranted by the Principles of this excellent Prelate. And tho he has not precisely determin'd the Time when Christianity was establish'd, and consequently when Miracles, by his Hypothesis, ought to cease, yet that Point can admit of no dispute ; for we are certain
that

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that 'twas settled in all Parts of the known World long before the Date of this Miracle, as EUSEBIUS expressly affirms, (*l. iii. c. 37. l. iv. c. 7. vid. Lactant. de mort. Perséc. c. 2, 3.*) I wrote that Passage with a just Indignation, to see the Dignity of God Almighty so meanly prostituted, by bringing him immediately upon the Stage for every low and trifling Occasion. I thought that Maxim,

Nec Deus interfit —

as true in Divinity, as Poetry. I believe that God manages his infinite Power with infinite Wisdom, and never breaks the settled Laws of the Creation but for some great and wise Ends. And what wise End of Providence cou'd be answer'd by this Miracle, since none of your own Authors pretend that it made one single Convert to Christianity? You have judg'd rightly about my Opinion of St. CHRYSOSTOM'S Miracle: For I can never allow common Accidents, or the ordinary Effects of Nature to pass for Miracles. I freely own that the Reason you have given for the
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Miracle under JULIAN is better than mine,
and I thank you for it.

§ 4. UPON the whole matter, I am firmly persuaded that this Miracle ought to be rank'd among the numerous Impostures of those Ages, which are too plain to be deny'd, and too shameful to be defended. Not that I am so uncharitable as to charge the Faults and Follies of particular Men on the whole Body of the Christian Writers. On the contrary, I think them the Persons chiefly impos'd on, and that the far greater part of the Fictions, which appear in the Authors of the three first Centuries, were not wilful Lyes of their own Invention, but Mistakes, flowing from an easy Credulity, and warm Sal-
lies of Zeal, that wou'd not suffer them over-nicely to examine the Authority of some Facts which they thought wou'd serve for the Advancement of their Cause. But this unhappy Conduct has had a quite different Effect from what they imagine : And I have often reflected, with Concern, on the infinite Scandal and Prejudice which Christianity has sustain'd by these fatal Frauds and Forgeries, which have ex-

pos'd it to the Scorn and Contempt of the Deists, and furnish'd them with the only plausible Weapons which they employ in attacking it. Truth, and the best Cause in the World, can never need the Support of such mean and unworthy Artifices: And Dr. HICKS and his Friends will do little service to the common Cause by the Project they are setting on foot, to revive these old exploded Fables and Fooleries, which serv'd well enough in the dull Days of *Monkery*, but will be laugh'd at in this inquisitive Age, where nothing will pass but solid Proof and severe Reasoning.

*Non tali auxilio, nec Defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

'Twere to be wish'd, for the Honour of Christianity, that future *Apologists* wou'd shun such dangerous Arguments, and stick to the fair Topicks by which Christianity may invincibly be defended, I mean, the Insufficiency of the Law of Nature, and the Necessity of a Divine Revelation at that Juncture, to reform the Corruption of the World; the Miracles of Christ, and the

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the Apostles ; the Accomplishment of the Prophecies ; its wonderful Propagation, with the Numbers, and undaunted Sufferings of our Martyrs ; the Purity and Excellency of its Precepts ; their Agreeableness to the Law of Reason and the Divine Attributes, with some few other Articles : which, if rightly urg'd and apply'd, can never be answer'd by all the Wit and Malice of the Deists. I shall conclude all with a severe Reflection of PHOTIUS, on IRENÆUS's false and precarious way of Reasoning, and which may be apply'd to most of the Fathers of those Ages : Ἐν τισὶν αὐτῶν ἡ τῆς κατὰ τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά δόγματα ἀληθείας ἀκρίβεια νόθοις λογισμοῖς κινδυνεύεται.
Cod. 120. p. 301.

Mr. K—'s Brief Notes,
On the Defence of Article I. Part I.

Ad Sect. 1. Note 1.

THO I grant your Conclusion, I can't be said to give up a Point I never contended for. I don't remember that I ever asserted there was an entire Legion of Christians in the Army of ANTONINUS. I am only of opinion that there were Christians in the Army, and especially in the Thundering Legion.

N. 2. NO Rule of Grammar will warrant that Construction of the Words in LUCIAN of some Christians, and—many Epicureans, (allowing Atheists to be so understood) seeing the Copulative & joins them together, without any distinction.

N. 3. I KNOW 'tis the Impostor, and not LUCIAN, who says that; yet 'tis not deny'd by him.

N. 4. PLINY must be understood literally. He wrote to TRAJAN in the most plain

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plain and simple manner of an Historian, not with the rhetorical Flourishes of an Orator; it being his Business to give the Emperor a punctual relation of matter of fact only. 'Tis in vain to say, that upon trial he did not find the number of the Christians great; for it was after the strictest scrutiny. The periclitantium numerus, &c. of the Christians, and the prope jam desolata Templum, and victimarum rarissimus emptor of the Gentiles, are certain Mediums for us to determine the number of the one, to be far greater than the number of the other, in that part of Asia.

N. 5. TRUE, 'tis a jest to suppose them as numerous as the Heathen in Rome, there being so many hundred thousands in that City. 'Tis likewise a jest to suppose them not above seven or eight thousand, seeing the burning of Rome was attributed to them, and NERO publickly honour'd for suppressing them, as he vainly thought.

N. 6. I DON'T think your Instance out of TULLY, interpreted by JOSEPHUS,

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sufficient, unless you can prove that the Jews had the same Encouragement for fifty Years together, which they had from JULIUS CÆSAR and AUGUSTUS. You know that most of the following Emperors were not their Friends.

N. 7. *THE number of the Bacchanalians, in LIVY, was indeed set forth in extravagant Terms, by the Zeal of the Informer, and the Flourishes of the Council, at the time of the Accusation: but after the Examination, there was no more an alter pene populus; but a bare seven thousand are the numbers in PLINY, reduc'd to a certain and low Sum.*

Ad § 2. *YOU have whipt the Christians out of the Senate for the most part, but not altogether; for tho TERTULIAN may exaggerate their numbers, and so lessen their belief, yet you own there were some but Dissemblers of their Religion, as APOLLONIUS. And can you really think him an Hypocrite, and at the same time a Martyr? Martyrdom surely is the Test of a sincere Christian. An Hypocrite wou'd deny the Faith rather*

rather than die, and be damn'd to rights, since he knows the hottest Place in Hell to be his Lot.

Ad § 5. *I'm still of opinion that Rome was not the head Quarters of Christianity, tho I allow it to be Ecclesia principalis, at that time; as it was the Head of the Empire, and that drew such Quantities of Hereticks to it. They cou'd find better Quarter there than true Christians. But do you in truth understand IRENEUS, as if he meant the Romish Church was the most antient, as well as most populous, (for his Words were not to be disjointed) without forgetting that the Christian Church was born at Jerusalem, and christen'd at Antioch? Surely that good Father's Words may most properly be constru'd, a very antient and very populous Church, without making the Daughter primæval to the Mother; which even Miracle and Mystery won't help you out in, if this witty Age wou'd allow them.*

Ad § 7. *THE Argument from the Epistles you are pleas'd to ridicule, with producing a greater number of Epistles to*

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*prove (if that were a good way of arguing) that Greece was the Center of Christianity. But surely if your Memory did serve you as well in matters of Scripture, as in this of other Authors, you would not endeavour to put this Banter upon me; for did not St. JOHN write to seven Churches of Asia? which Instance is sufficient to alter your Center again. What if the head Quarters of Christianity were, as you term it, often shifted? that is, sometimes more Christians were at one place, sometimes at another; does that prove the greater number of them was not at Ephesus at that time, and the adjacent Country? In all probability there was more frequent Preaching of the Apostles, and their Successors, in these Parts, so nigh the Fountain of Christianity, than in any other; which the Acts of the Apostles, and EUSEBIUS's History, will give us credit in believing; and so, of consequence, a greater Concourse of Christians; which caused so many Persecutions in Asia, more than any other Place. And from hence it was they had more Apologists, who wrote to
the*

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the Emperors to stem the tide of their grievous Sufferings.

Ad § 8. *THERE is no necessity of understanding the Legio Fulminans of ANTONINE, to be originally Asiatick. 'Tis enough for my purpose if it was recruited there. 'Tis not the number of Asiaticks that I contend for, so much as the quality of them. That there were some Christians among them, is sufficient.*

AFTER all, I can't but wonder why you shou'd strain so much to lessen the numbers of Christians in the first Ages of the Church, when their great Increase was so notorious. I shall offer to your Consideration an Instance of this, in the two first Sermons preach'd by St. PETER after our Lord's Ascension: at one of which were converted three thousand, Acts ii. 41. at the other five thousand, Acts iv. 4. So mightily grew the Word of God, and prevail'd, at the preaching of one of the Apostles; how much more may we reasonably believe did Christians multiply at the preaching of all the rest?

Article

Article I. Part II.

Ad § 1. *I AM* sorry to find your Temper a little too much discompos'd by what I have said, in answer to you, upon this Article. A Master of so much Reason I cou'd not imagine wou'd have any way yielded himself up to his Resentments. A Person of the greatest Genius may sometimes be shewn an Error by one of an inferior Capacity. To convince you of this, do but look into the Proof you brought from CELSUS, to strengthen what you had urg'd against Christians being in the Army, viz. CELSUS makes it one of his Charges against the Christians, that they refus'd to bear Arms for the Emperor. Compare this with what you afterward said, towards the close of your Discourse, on the first Article, viz. The Christians, for reasons of State which were very obvious, were not suffer'd to bear Arms under persecuting Reigns. How these two Sentiments, being brought into one view, will agree together, I must confess my self wholly unable to understand. Either CEL-

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SUS was not just in his Charge, or the Observation is not just, that Christians were not suffer'd to bear Arms; for to charge them at the same time, for not doing what they were not suffer'd to do, is a great Injustice; and not to suffer them to do what is charg'd home upon them as their Duty, is an uncommon piece of Hardship.

PARDON me, Sir, if I bring you this one Instance to convince you, that a great Man may mistake, and to induce you to be easy in passing by the Failings of others, who don't pretend to an equality of Parts and Penetration. Your direct Proof of matter of fact, that there were no Christians in the Army, from the Charge of CELSUS, is not so forcible, you see, as you wou'd intimate; especially if we consider the contrary is matter of fact, out of TERTULLIAN; who, if he is a good Evidence in one thing, I know not why he shou'd not be in another. You bring him often to justify what you assert, but reject him when I produce him; which is not very impartial. In this case he is very plain and positive,
that

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that numbers of Christian Soldiers were in the Army; and gives also a particular Instance in the Affair of the Soldier who refus'd to wear the Crown. What he says in his Book de Corona, in defence of that Soldier, and against the rest that wore it, is a good Argument that there were no idolatrous Tests impos'd on them; for the greatest Act of Idolatry that he charges them with, is wearing the Crown in honour (as he interprets it) of the Heathen Gods. If they had been guilty of any other Act of that kind, they wou'd surely have heard of it in the heat of his Zeal. That the Christian Soldiers were exempted from the Tests, I have reason to believe from the Consideration of what MARCUS himself says of the Christians, in that excellent Rescript he wrote in their behalf in the beginning of his Reign; their firmness to their Principles, their constancy in their Sufferings, their contempt of Death, their austere Discipline, their unexceptionable Fidelity in the Trust committed to them, their Reverence to the Imperial Station, as set over them by God, for whose sake they so willingly bestow'd their Lives,
especially

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especially when administer'd by a Person so fit for it as MARCUS, who was too wise and good a Person to rob himself, as well as the Publick, of the Service of Persons so exquisitely qualify'd for military Employments, by needless Impositions on their Consciences, after the Publication of so gracious an Edict in their favour, which you your self acknowledge to be genuine, and no one, that I ever yet met with, questions.

I AM so far from begging the Question, as you say, that I only take what you grant, that there were Christians in the Army in SEVERUS's time, who began his Reign not above twenty Tears after ANTONINUS : So that, in all probability, the Soldiers of one Emperor were in the Army of the other, and were Idolaters in neither, because they were persecuted for not being so. And still it will not be a seeming Difficulty, but a manifest Contradiction, to say that the Christian Soldiers were Idolaters, whilst in the Army, and yet turn'd out for not being Idolaters. Your sportive Addition of the Word enough, will not satisfy ; for 'tis

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notorious

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notorious that the least Circumstance of Occasional Conformity wou'd have been sufficient to have excus'd them. But those Christians had not so learned Christ; they had no notion of the modern and moderate way of complying upon occasion, against Principle.

ARTICLE II.

Ad § I. N. I. *THAT* all the Advocates for the Miracle have given up this Article as a Point never to be maintain'd, I presume is a Mistake, (understanding this to be the Legion plac'd at Melitene, in Cappadocia :) For SALMASIUS, in his Notes on CAPITOLINUS, c. 24. where he convinces SCALIGER of an Error about the name of the Melitenian Legion, says, that this was the same which was afterwards call'd the Thundering. And perhaps we shou'd find CASAUBON of the like Opinion, cou'd we but learn what Discourse it is which he promis'd in his Notes on CAPITOLINUS, where he proves the Victory of ANTONINUS to be obtain'd by the Prayers of the Christian Soldiers in his Army. I
am

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am glad to see that you so far agree with SALMASIUS, as to call it the Melitenian and not Melitinian Legion, as you did in your former Discourse. This has convinc'd you of its being quarter'd, at least, at Melitene, if not nam'd from thence; and has put you upon a diligent Search after the Legion thro'out the preceding Reigns, home to ANTONINUS. And your Inquiry is so far advantageous to the Truth of the Miracle, that it proves the Thundering Legion fix'd at Melitene, to have been a Legion long employ'd in those parts of Asia which abounded with Christians: and if it was not rais'd there, in all probability 'twas recruited; and that is much the same to me: For I am not solicitous whether this be the old Legion of AUGUSTUS, perhaps vulgarly call'd Melitenian, because quarter'd there, and said by the Emperor to be verè fulminea from the Miracle, or properly so nam'd, and from the Action alone styl'd the Thundering: (You must allow me to conjecture, since by your own conjecturing you have authoriz'd me in it.) 'Tis enough for me if there was such a Legion in the Army
at

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at the time of the Victory, and that there were any Christians therein : For 'twas not by their Multitude, but the Power of their Prayers, the Miracle was wrought. This is the point alone that I contend for, which is not at all given up.

N. 2. *I AM glad to see you have acquitted APOLLINARIS, after your severe Reflections upon him. I am with you and VALESIUS, in blaming EUSEBIUS for neither citing the Words nor particular Treatise of APOLLINARIS; but can't agree with you that he has falsify'd in quoting a Book which never was extant. I only suppose he mistook in the Quotation.*

ARTICLE III.

Ad § 1. **T**HE Charge of Bigotry and Malice in the Heathen, against the Christians, is not at all evaded by what you say. To quote LUCIAN for an Instance of their speaking well of the Christians, is one of the greatest Paradoxes imaginable ; one who made it his Business to ridicule them and their Religion,

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ligion almost wherever he spake of them. TACITUS calls their Religion exitiabilis superstitio ; and PLINY, prava & immodica : their Firmness to their Principles and Resolution, pervicacia & inflexibilis obstinatio. And these are some of the best things said of them. PLINY's just and noble Character is the bare recital of the Examination of the Christians, which was but common Justice. DIO, and the six Writers of the Hist. August. scarce name them at all ; and therefore 'tis no wonder they don't name them with Reproach. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS is the only one of your Authors, who is intirely fair in his Character of them and their Religion.

N. 2. *YOU ask, how came such a Bigot and Persecutor as ANTONINUS to ascribe the Victory to the Christians ? If you allow his Rescript ad Com. Asiæ, to be genuine (as it is generally allow'd to be, and I think you do) I can't see how you can call him a Bigot and a Persecutor : For, cou'd a Bigot so handsomly check the Outrage of the People against the Christians, by telling them how unjust*

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it was to punish the People for adoring the immortal God, and putting their Trust in him, in times of uncommon Calamities, when at the same time their Hearts fail'd them for fear, and were Heathens indeed, worshipping no God at all? And how cou'd a Persecutor publish so gracious an Edict in favour of his Enemies? I was too forward in my Answer to that Discourse, in wholly giving up MARCUS for a Bigot and Persecutor. I was led into it, I must own, by relying too much on what you said in the second Section of your fourth Article. But having since more carefully examin'd ANTONINE's Edict, the Christian Apologists, the Acts of the Martyrs of Lyons, and of Asia, &c. I am convinc'd that MARCUS was not so great a Bigot as you represent him; nor of himself a Persecutor, as I shall shew in my Answer to Article IV.

Ad § 5. I ACKNOWLEDGE
that you have clear'd the Point, that Christians are not to be understood under the Notion of Chaldeans. There was no necessity for such a tragical Outcry as you make, in saying I had offer'd the greatest Violence

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Violence imaginable to CLAUDIAN's Words, seeing the Words I make use of are not so much CLAUDIAN's as LAMPRIIDIUS's, Carminibus & Consecratione. The first of which is particularly us'd by PLINY, in the Account he gives of the Worship of Christ by the Christians; and the same manner of Worship might be then us'd by them in the time of their Distress.

Ad § 6. *TRUE, 'tis no advantage to my Cause that ANTONINUS wrote to the Senate, nor was it unusual for the Emperor to write; but his taking the Title of Imperator upon him, without a Decree of the Senate, was unusual: and it is of the greatest Consequence and Advantage to my Cause, to have him acknowledge that he receiv'd it from God.*

Ad § 7. *I CAN'T understand for what Reason you shou'd interpret the Words, peregrinos ritus (in Capitol. c. 13.) Magical Sacrifices, seeing you your self, in the fourteenth Section of your Defence of the second Part of the first Article, are pleas'd to construe externa Sacra, the Chris-*

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tian and Jewish Religions ; which, you say, TACITUS undoubtedly means by these Words. But what difference there is between peregrinos Ritus, and externa Sacra, I know not. The Expression annex'd, undique Sacerdotes acciverit, gives me ground to believe those Rites were Christian : since he made use of Priests from all Quarters, foreign Rites, and Lustrations of all sorts, I don't see why the Christian Worship of the supreme God shou'd be excluded ; especially when the Terror of the Marcomannick War was so great, that it put the Emperor upon all ways of expiating and atoning the Deity, even that immortal one whom the Christians ador'd : as in all probability we may conclude he did, from the Consideration of that severe Reproof he gave his Heathen Subjects for their Impiety, in times of extreme Calamity, as his Edict does evince.

Ad § 8. *THE Jupiter Pluvius you suppose in the Monument, is only the Image of AUSTER, thus describ'd by OVID,*

—madidis

——madidis Notus evolat alis
Terribilem picea tectus caligine vul-
tum, &c. *Met. Lib. I.*

Mercurius Acrius I take it be no other than the Emblem of the quick Interposition of Providence, in delivering ANTONINE'S Army.

ARTICLE IV.

Ad § II. *I CAN'T but think WIT-
SIUS in the right, in attri-
buting the Persecutions of the Christians
to popular Tumults. That of Lyons you
own to have so begun. That in Asia,
wherein POLYCARP suffer'd, seems to be
from the same Cause; the Gentiles and
Jews rose with one accord against the
Christians, crying out εἰς τὸν θεόν. And
that when MELITO wrote his Apology,
was of the same nature; for he calls it
ἀπαμείνως γεννασία, and says in the end of his
Apology, that they were persuaded the
Emperor, who was much more graciously
inclin'd to the Christians than his Pre-
decessors, wou'd yield to their Request;*

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which was, that they might be no longer persecuted by the People. You urge, that MARCUS wou'd never suffer such barbarous Outrages to have been committed in contempt of his own Edicts and Commands. But how, say I, can you imagine that he cou'd command contrary to his own Edicts, which is more preposterous? You may suppose they were revok'd, or new ones to the contrary publish'd. If so, where are they to be found, or what mention is there made of them in any Author? Not the least footstep of such a thing remains, but rather the contrary; for MARCUS declar'd in his first Edict, that he follow'd his Father's steps in favouring the Christians: And in his Prayer to the Giver of Life, cited by THEMISTIUS, Orat. 15. that he never took away the Life of any man. And CAPITOLINUS says, c. 8. that in him Lenitatem Pii nemo desideraret; and DIO, p. 813. that he was so merciful that he delighted not even in the Blood of Gladiators. Now since, in his own Edict, he condemn'd those who persecuted the Christians, and the Christians accuse him not of Persecution, and the Gentiles excuse him

him of all Bloodshed, we may fairly conclude that he was not guilty of persecuting the Christians.

Ad § 12. *How you can infer from the bare mention of the Obstinacy of the Christians, that there was then a Persecution afoot against them, I can't imagine; or why you shou'd render ὁμοθυμαδὸν a brutal Obstinacy, when the natural Construction of the Words is only a mere or simple Obstinacy; the same with the inflexibilis obstinatio of PLINY, and LUCIAN's steadiness to Principles, which is part of that just and noble Character given them by those Authors; and yet in ANTONINUS is the Description of a Company of mad desperate Enthusiasts, who sacrific'd their Lives out of a sullen Stubbornness. Suppose, however, this shou'd be the purport of the Words, the Christians then meant must be the Hereticks, who press'd forward to Martyrdom, but were condemn'd by the Orthodox Christians, who were always prepar'd with the greatest Firmness of Mind to suffer, yet never sought it: tho when it was their Fate they underwent the severest Torments*

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with that true Bravery of Soul which MARCUS describes; of which IGNATIUS, POLYCARP, &c. are notable Instances.

ARTICLE VI.

Ad § 1. *YOU say, I have not offer'd any thing to prove the Deliverance of the Romans to be a supernatural Event. I thought indeed the Argument I made use of from the universal Agreement of both Christian and Pagan Writers about the Miraculousness of the Fact, without the least Contradiction of any antient Author, was sufficient to convince an unprejudic'd Person, that there was, at least, something supernatural in it; which, I said, the drawing up the particular Relations of the Writers of both Parties wou'd evince. But what the Christians have written, you reject as pious Fraud; or, in your own words, as the Fictions of such as made no scruple of lying for the Honour of their Religion. The Gentiles, indeed, you honour with the Title of candid and impartial Writers; and amongst them, DIO you esteem the best Guide,*

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Guide. *In this I'll close with you, and agree that the Truth of the Miracle shall stand or fall by his Account of the Fact. Let us then impartially consider what he says. In the Preface to the Relation he has these Words : An unexpected Victory happen'd to them, or rather was given them by God. In the middle these : A great deal of Rain fell, not without the help of God. Again, in the end he gives this wonderful Account : That the Fire which fell from Heaven, with the Rain, did not touch the Romans ; or, if it chanc'd to light among them, 'twas soon extinguish'd. Nor was the Rain of any benefit to the Enemies, but flam'd upon them as Oil, so that they desir'd Water in the midst of Rain. Some of them wounded themselves to quench the Fire with their Blood ; others ran among the Romans, as if the Water was helpful to them alone. This mov'd MARCUS to have Compassion on them ; upon which he was the seventh time saluted Emperor. But tho it was not usual to take the Title before 'twas decreed him, yet he receiv'd it as given him by God ; of which he wrote the Senate. This is the wonderful part*
of

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of the Story which DIO relates ; and if this be not a Miracle, I know not what is. For Fire to burn one Parcel of Men, and not hurt another, tho falling at the same time upon them ; and Water likewise to burn as flaming Oil upon some, and refresh others in the very same Instant, is as much a supernatural Event as the three Childrens coming unhurt out of the fiery Furnace. Now, Sir, can you say that DIO was a candid and impartial Writer ? and can you be so partial as not to believe him, or so unbelieving as to impute it to Magick, according to the vulgar Report, (as our Author calls it ?) Or will you recant your Character of him, and throw him among the Legendary Romanists ? For, if his Account be false, there is not a greater Legend in all the Roman Writers, whether antient or modern : But if it be true, there remains no room for Disbelief. The only Dispute then must be between Gentiles and Christians, whether their God or our God was the Worker of the Wonder.

Ad § 3. THE Passage against multiplying of Miracles, you say, was wrote
 2
 with

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with a just Indignation to see the Dignity of God Almighty so meanly prostituted upon every low and trifling occasion : and to this end you cite HORACE,

Nec Deus interfit, &c.

Certainly you can't quarrel with this Occasion, as unworthy of God's interposing, if you do but consider how great and good an Emperor, and how vast an Army was sav'd ; and how forlorn a Condition they were in, without all prospect of human Assistance. Then the Circumstances of the Empire were so bad, that they could not well be worse under a good Prince. The Treasury was so exhausted, that MARCUS was forc'd to sell the Imperial Furniture to supply his Necessities, and support the Army. The Pestilence was so outrageous, that it destroy'd infinite numbers both of Soldiers and Citizens ; so that the Army was forc'd to be recruited after an unusual manner, with Slaves, Gladiators, Robbers, and even Asiatics, Capitol. c. 21. (which, by the way, is contrary to your Assertion, that there were no Asiatics in the Army.) The fear of the People was
so

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so great, at the Apprehension of the Marcomannick War, that all imaginable Means were us'd to lessen their Terrors: No God left unworshipp'd, no kind of Rite unperform'd, no sort of Expiation untry'd. Now, after all this train of Suffering, of Fears, and eminent Dangers, is it not dignus Deo vindice nodus, to save after so wonderful a manner, by the means of a parcel of poor despis'd contemptible Christians, (which might then come into the Army, when MARCUS omni diligentia paravit Legiones ad Marcomannicum bellum) to save, I say, so pure, so pious, so merciful a Prince as ANTONINUS, and so mighty a People as the Romans, in the utmost Extremity, when their invincible Courage cou'd do nothing to their Relief? Such is the time for the Almighty to exert himself, to convince the World that the Weakness of God is stronger than all the Power of Man.

N. 2. *You ask, what wise end of Providence cou'd be answer'd by this Miracle, since it made not one single Convert to Christianity? Nor did that famous one*
at

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at Jerusalem, in the time of JULIAN, that I ever heard of. Yet both had their wise ends; the one to convince JULIAN, &c. that Christ was a true Prophet, the other to convince the Romans that the Power they despis'd was far superior to what they put their Trust in.

Ad § 4. *SINCE you have so far exploded the antient Apologists, and Fathers of the Church, as to represent them as Promoters of fraudulent Stories, and as false and precarious Reasoners; and likewise the Moderns as Revivers of old Fables, and as Disputers upon unfair Topicks, and unfit to vindicate the Cause of Christianity, it becomes you, nay, 'tis your indispensable Duty, to imploy all your Wit, Reason, and Learning, to accomplish what they have fail'd in, not only by answering the Cavils and Objections of the Deists, and exposing those Scorners and Contemners of our blessed Saviour (no Man being more able and fit to do it than you) but also by the strongest Arguments to prove the Truth of our holy Religion, to convince all Gainsayers, and to confirm the Wavering; which, as*
you

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you are a Lover of Truth, and a sincere Christian, you ought to do to the utmost of your Ability. Besides, the great God of Heaven and Earth will require this at your hands, to whom he has given these inestimable Talents of Understanding and Knowledge, to be employ'd in his Service. And, can you employ them for a better Master, and to a better End, than to set forth the Glory of him who hath all Power given unto him, both in Heaven and in Earth ?

*IN fine, upon reading over your Defence, I must freely own it to be writ with a great deal of Wit and Learning. You have actually done by the Story, as the Devil desir'd to do by St. PETER, you have sifted it as Wheat. You have cleansed off the Chaff, and the Seed of Truth remains ; which is this, That there was a wonderful Victory obtain'd over the Quadi by ANTONINE. That this Victory was the immediate Effect of a Divine Power, is agreed by Writers of all sorts ; which Effect was not the Consequence of Magick, or of MARCUS's Piety, as the Gentiles suppose, but of the Prayers
of*

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of those Christians who were then in the Army, and of the Legion call'd The Thundering, as the Christian Authors relate : Which Prayers were offer'd up to the immortal God, whom ANTONINUS, in his Edict, owns the Christians adore; and from whom, he acknowledges in his Letter to the Senate, that he receiv'd the Victory.

L E T.

LETTER III.

*Mr. MOYLE's Remarks on
Mr. K——'s Brief Notes.*

Article I. Part I.

S I R,

Ad § 1. N. 1. IF you never believ'd an entire Legion of Christians, why did you go out of your way, and take such Pains to confute my Arguments against it? If they are not good, I shou'd be glad to see better produc'd in their room.

N. 2, 3. I UNDERSTOOD that Sentence of LUCIAN, as you do, to be meant jointly of the *Epicureans* and the *Christians* put together; tho for the Reasons there alledg'd, I thought the first the stronger Party. But allowing it to be chiefly meant of the Christians, were not the Words spoke, as you own, by ALEXANDER? And was it not his Business, by increasing their numbers, to
halloo

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halloo the *Mob* upon their *Meeting-Houses*?
LUCIAN neither owns nor denies the
Fact, but makes the *Impostor*, thro'out, an
abominable Lyar.

N. 4. *PLINY*'s Letter is not written;
as you suppose, in a simple, but a florid
rhetorical Style, as all his other Letters,
even his most familiar ones, are. The *per-
iclitantium numerus* may refer to the
Cum detur pœnitentiæ venia, &c. for he
then did not know the Emperor's mind.
But taking it in your sense, does it im-
port more than the *ingens multitudo* of
TACITUS, the *quanta manus* of CICERO;
or the *multa millia* of LIVY? And is
not the *Templa prope desolata*, best ex-
plain'd by the *alterum prope populum* of
LIVY? Allowing you all you ask, 'tis
certain that the far greater part of those
Christians apostatiz'd; from whence one
may conclude, that if the Christians did
the same in the following Persecutions,
which came so thick one upon the neck
of another, down to ANTONINUS, the
numbers of the *Asiatick* Christians cou'd
not be so great as you suppose, under
his Reign. But I can never believe there

was such a monstrous Apostacy, as wou'd follow from your Supposition, in an Apostolical Age, full of Zeal and Purity; and when St. JOHN was still living in *Asia*, or newly dead. Indeed under the *Cyprianick* Age (which you make the Model of our *Hierarchy*) many of the Clergy, with the far greater part of the Laity, apostatiz'd (*Cyprian. Ep. xiv.*) but I can't think the beginning of the second Century so corrupt. This made Mr. DODWELL, somewhere in his *Cyprianick* Dissertations, affirm that these Apostates were all *Gnosticks*; who, as we know from St. JOHN in his *Revelation*, had taken deep root in the Churches of *Asia*, and whom, with JUSTIN MARTYR, I deny to be Christians. This Thought is favour'd by PLINY's distinction of the *re-vera Christiani*, &c.

N. 5. 'TIS improbable that the Christians were the five hundredth part of *Rome* under NERO, when I have prov'd they did not exceed the hundred and eightieth part near two hundred Years after. But they must exceed, you say, the number of eight thousand, because the burning of

2. *Rome*

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Rome was attributed to them : But I can't for my soul discover the force of your Argument, that a City cou'd not be burnt without the help of above eight thousand hands to set it on fire. *London* was fir'd by a single Villain, and *Muscow* has been burnt more than once by a Pipe of Tobacco.

N. 6. IF you had consulted JOSEPHUS, (*Antiq.* xvii. 12.) you wou'd have found that he made this Computation of the number of the *Jews* at *Rome*, under AUGUSTUS ; and consequently, by your own Confession, the Argument is very just.

N. 6, 7. THE case of PLINY the Proconsul, and POSTHUMIUS the Consul, are exactly alike. The first, perhaps to magnify his own Service, sets forth the number of the Christians in extravagant Terms to his Master the Emperor ; the other does the same by the *Bacchanals*, to his Masters the People. The one does it in a rhetorical Letter, the other in a rhetorical Speech. PLINY does not set down the numbers of the Christians ; and for that very Reason I have brought these

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parallel Instances, to reduce them to a certainty.

§ II. I DO not believe, and never own'd, that APOLLONIUS was a Senator, but plainly intimated the contrary. Archbishop CRANMER dissembled his Religion under HENRY VIII. and dy'd a Martyr under Q. MARY. I am glad you own that TERTULLIAN has exaggerated the number of Christian Senators: Why may he not, by the same Rule, have exaggerated the number of other Christians in proportion? Is not his *Senatum implevimus* a good Comment on the ἡμπεπληθισμένοι of LUCIAN, and PLINY's Epistle?

Ad § 5. THE Reason you give why Rome was call'd the *Ecclesia principalis*, tho the common one, is a Mystery to me. Was there, at that time, any such Connexion or Relation between Church and State, that the head City of one must needs be the principal Church of the other? Don't we see, at this day, since the Establishment of Christianity, and the Union of Church and State, that in most Governments now in *Europe*, the Seat of

2

Empire,

Empire, and the principal Church, are in different Cities, even in *England*, where the chief Magistrate is head of the Church? If IRENÆUS has been guilty of an Error about the Antiquity of the *Roman Church*, 'tis common to him with many other Fathers: But that he is so to be understood, is apparent from the nature of his Argument against the Hereticks, drawn (as I remember) from the Antiquity and constant Succession of that See; and upon any other Supposition, wou'd carry little weight with it. That Maxim is rightly interpreted, as is manifest from the Reason there alledg'd, of the great Resort of Christians, &c. which must of necessity make it the most populous Church in the Empire. Nor can you give any other turn to that Sentence, without making IRENÆUS an Advocate for the Pope's Supremacy. The Hereticks, you say, had fairer quarter there than true Christians: and so they had every where else; and therefore that Reason cou'd never draw them thither.

Ad § 7. I COU'D easily retort your Charge of ill Memory in Scripture matters,

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ters, from some pertinent Instances set down in my *Defence*. But even this Charge from the number of the Epistles, (tho I own I did not think of it) is not well made out : For tho St. JOHN wrote to seven Churches, 'tis all compriz'd in one * Epistle. But even this Argument may be turn'd upon you ; for it carries a strong Presumption with it, that there were but seven Churches planted in *Asia* at the end of the first Century, when St. JOHN wrote his *Revelation*, (*Irenæus apud Euseb. Chron.*) - which is a small number (taking the word *Church* in the largest sense) for so large and populous a Province ; much less will it prove the Christians more numerous there than in other parts of the Empire ; which point you are contending for. The rest of your Note, being only a Repetition of what you had said before, without taking notice of my Answer, I shall pass over.

Ad § 8. THE first part of this Note I shall consider at *Article II.*

* Rev. i. 4. 11.

THE number of the *Jewish* Converts, at the first preaching of the Apostles, was very great ; but they were easily prepar'd for the Reception of the Gospel by the *Miracles* of Christ, and their *Prophecies* of the *Messiah* : whereas the Heathens knew little of the first, and nothing at all of the last. Show me an Instance of such numbers of Heathens converted by one Sermon, and I'll allow your Argument to be good. I do as much wonder that you shou'd strain so hard to magnify the numbers of the Christians, beyond all probability ; since the Progress of Christianity, considering its late rise, and the constant opposition it met with, is, even on my moderate Computation, prodigious, and to be accounted for by nothing but the Divine Providence ; as I may one day show at large, on another occasion.

Article I. Part II.

Ad § 1. **N**OW, Sir, give me leave to examine your Charge of *Inconsistence*, which you enter on with such an air of Satisfaction. Your Objection

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had been very just, if the Church had been in a constant State of Persecution ; which is not true : Or, if CELSUS had accus'd the Christians for not *actually* lifting themselves in a time of Persecution. Nor is the Supposition true, on which your whole Argument turns, as you might easily have seen, had you attentively read the whole Passage of CELSUS at large, which I only briefly hinted at. He only exhorts them (which implies a Charge that they wou'd not) to bear Arms for the Emperor, *ἀν ἐπείγῃ*, if he call'd for their Service, or if their Service was wanted ; which cou'd be only when there was a *Toleration*. And in this sense CELSUS must of necessity be understood, unless you'll suppose him void of common Sense : For with what face cou'd he accuse the Christians for not actually serving at that time, when he tells them but two Pages before (*p.* 424. and elsewhere) that they were then under a violent Persecution, that strict search was made after them, and that they were put to death wherever they were found ? Can you imagine they were suffer'd to lift, who were not suffer'd to live ? Cou'd he expect they shou'd appear

pear in Arms for the Emperor, who, if they appear'd in publick, were sure to meet a certain Death? and all this under the Reign of ANTONINUS, who, you say, was no Persecutor? CELSUS was incapable of writing at this ridiculous rate, and consequently his Charge is only levell'd at the general Principle of the Christians, for declining to serve at all times, (even when the Emperor call'd for their Service, and they wou'd have been admitted into the Army) and not at their refusing *actually* to bear Arms at that juncture; in which sense you must have understood my Words, had you carefully examin'd my Citation. If after all this, you can discern any Contradiction between CELSUS's Charge and my Supposition, I shall give you joy of the Discovery.

N. 2. YOU go on to argue as if CELSUS had been the only direct Witness I had produc'd. But han't I brought ORIGEN directly to the same fact? Is not the Testimony of IRENÆUS and JUSTIN as full and exprefs? And is it not the necessary and undeniable Consequence of the Positions laid down by MINUCIUS FELIX,

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FELIX, THEOPHILUS, and ATHENAGORAS? Not to name other Proofs, which, tho highly probable, are not of equal weight. So that the Dispute may be reduc'd to this short Issue, Whether the Authority of six Witnesses, (to pass over CELSUS) five of whom flourish'd when the Miracle was wrought, is not infinitely to be preferr'd to the Testimony of one credulous Writer, whose flourishing Age was near thirty Years after. And I wou'd willingly know who treats the *Fathers* with most Respect, you who give the Lye to six of them, or I who give it only to one, who was an Heretick and Enthusiast. 'Tis true, I often quote TERTULLIAN when he relates Facts upon his own knowledge, or that are in their own nature credible, or attested by other Writers of good Authority. Am I, for that reason, bound to believe all his Castles in the Air, and Tales of a Tub?

I AM surpriz'd to hear you say, that TERTULLIAN charges the Christian Soldiers with no other Act of Idolatry but the Garland. If he had not thought the military Oath idolatrous, how came he
to

to number it among the other kinds of indirect Idolatry, in a Book written expressly on that Subject? The military Oath, (says he) and the baptismal Vow, are inconsistent with each other, one being the sign of Christ, the other of the Devil: for as they were made Christians by Baptism in the name of Christ, so they were made Soldiers by the military Oath in the name of the Devil; that is, the Heathen Gods by whom they were sworn. This Interpretation is confirm'd by TERTULLIAN, (*Scorpiac. c. 4. ad Martyr. c. 3. de Baptism. c. 1, 6.*) And does he not immediately pass on to condemn the Idolatry of all Heathen Oaths? in which number the military Oath must be included, which was by the Heathen Gods, as I have sufficiently prov'd at § 6? And does he not (at c. 17.) charge the common Oath of Allegiance, taken by the civil Magistrates, with Idolatry? In his Book *de Corona*, (c. 11.) he begins in the same manner with attacking the Form, and afterwards the Matter of the military Oath. The *Vexillum æmulum Christi*, is best explain'd by the *Castrensis Religio signa veneratur*, (*Apologet. c. 16.*) What say you to the following

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lowing Sentence, *Cenabit illic ubi Apostolo non placet?* Shall a Christian feast on the *Idolothyta*, in the Heathen Temples, contrary to the Prohibition of St. PAUL? (1 Cor. viii. 10.) This we know to be a common Practice of the Soldiers, from MARCELLINUS, (xxii. 12.) which Passage my old Second VALESIIUS has rightly explain'd by this parallel Place in TERTULLIAN; and from *Lactantius de morte Persecutorum*, (c. 37.) And was not the eating those Sacrifices expressly forbid by the Council of *Jerusalem*, (*Acts* xv.) and reputed by all succeeding Ages of the Church, as the highest act of Idolatry? What say you to the *Solemnis votorum nuncupatio*, at the Place of Arms in the Camp, or in the chief Temples of the Cities where they were quarter'd? (c. 12.) Do you think that a Christian cou'd assist at these Solemnities with the Heathens, and comply in all the outward Acts of religious Worship without Idolatry? TERTULLIAN tells you, that he passes over several other unlawful *Tests*, which perhaps might be as criminal as any of those he has insisted on. And if these *Tests* were dispens'd with, as you suppose,

suppose, how, in the name of wonder, comes TERTULLIAN to urge them as Arguments against the Lawfulness of serving in the Army? Does he not bid the Christian Soldiers rather suffer than conform to them? And how cou'd they suffer for *Non-conformity* to *Tests* that were not requir'd of them? Had they not been rigorously exacted of the Christian Soldiers, how came they to excuse their compliance by the Plea of *necessity*? And how admirably well has TERTULLIAN answer'd it in that happy turn, *Nulla est necessitas delinquendi, quibus una est necessitas non delinquendi*? I hope by this time you are convinc'd that there were other *Tests* besides the *Garland*, and that the Heathens were so far from being content with the least Act of *Occasional Conformity*, that the Christian Soldiers were not exempt from the greatest. That the *Military Oath* in particular was impos'd on them, we know from the Example of BASILIDES, a Christian Soldier, who was put to death under SEVERUS for refusing it; and thereby discovering himself to be a true Christian, (*Euseb. vi. 4.*) And can you imagine it was dispens'd with in fa-

your

your of the Christians, whose Loyalty
 was so much suspected under that Reign?
 (*Tertull. ad Scapul. c. 2.*) And when the
 Tests upon the civil Officers were so strictly
 exacted, (*de Idolo. c. 17.*) I will not re-
 peat what I have said on this head, at
 § 9, 12. of my *Defence*, to which I refer
 you. 'Tis in vain to say the Christians of
 that Age cou'd not be *Occasional Confor-*
mists, because they had not *so learned*
Christ. 'Tis true, Christ did not teach
 them so: But is there a more fallacious
 way of reasoning, than to argue from mat-
 ter of right to matter of fact? The
 Christians ought not of right to have done
 so, therefore they did not. I expected
 better Arguments than a bare denial against
 such numerous Examples of this kind, as
 I had produc'd from so many Authors;
 especially TERTULLIAN, who is not
 now entertaining his Reader with Dreams,
 Visions, Miracles, and Prophecies, but
 with a simple Narration of some Corrup-
 tions of his Age, which he saw every day
 with his own Eyes; tho I can never be-
 lieve him so far as to think that the Ma-
 jority of the Christians at that time (*ple-*
rique, de Idol. ii. 14.) had adopted the loose
 Prin-

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Principle of thinking nothing idolatrous but offering sacrifice to the Heathen Gods, or being an Heathen Priest. This looks like a flight of his usual Rhetorick ; tho 'tis too plain to be deny'd, that too many had given in to that dangerous Doctrine. And when I consider *LUCAN's* Character of the Soldiers, which has been found true in all Ages,

*Nulla fides pietasq; viris qui castra
sequuntur :*

And when I reflect on the famous Conversion of *JULIAN's* Army, by a short Speech of the Emperor *JOVIAN*, (*Rufinus* ii. 1. *Socrates* iii. 22.) I am persuaded that *TERTULLIAN* has done them no wrong.

YOU have no Reason to say that I own'd *ANTONINUS's* Rescript to be genuine. 'Tis true, I urg'd it as *Argumentum ad hominem* against you, because you had own'd it ; but did I not tell you, at the same time, that its Authority might be justly question'd, tho I allow'd it as antient as *TERTULLIAN*? I will now
freely

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freely declare my mind, that I think it the most barefac'd, self-evident Forgery in all Antiquity, for these following Reasons.

IT bears date in the first Year of ANTONINUS. Now we all know that ANTONINUS, that moment he came to the Crown, made his Brother VERUS Partner of the Empire, and AUGUSTUS; and consequently the Edict, were it genuine, ought to have run in both their Names. Nor was the Style of ARMENIACUS, which appears in the head of the Edict, assum'd by ANTONINUS till the third Year of his Reign, as appears from all the *Medals*; for his Victories in *Armenia* were not won till that Year. PAGI, to evade these Difficulties, which he was very well aware of, changes the Date of the *Trib. Pot.* from xv to xxiii, which is coincident with the ninth Year of his Reign, in which his Brother VERUS dy'd. But this is an arbitrary Correction, and against the Faith of all the Manuscripts. Nor will it serve his turn; for if it was publish'd before the Death of VERUS, my first Argument will conclude as strongly against the ninth, as the first Year of ANTONINUS.

TONINUS. If 'twas publish'd after his Death, the Difficulty is still as great; for how then comes the Title of *Armeniacus* there, since we are sure from CAPITOLINUS (c. 12.) that after the Death of VERUS he assum'd no other Title than that of GERMANICUS, and quitted his old ones? These external Proofs will admit of no tolerable Answer, but the internal ones are far stronger. Is it possible to conceive that a Heathen wou'd have set forth the Excellency of Christianity, and the Christians, in such high and rhetorical Terms? CONSTANTINE the Great, in his celebrated Edict, hath not said half so much in their Praise. All the fine Sentences you have pick'd out of this Epistle, are so many Proofs of its being spurious, and shew it cou'd have been compos'd by none but a Christian. This single Argument induc'd Mr. DODWELL, who was never tax'd with want of Credulity, to give it up, (*de paucit. Martyr. sub Antoninis.*) And GER. VOSSIUS has written a little Discourse on purpose to prove it an Imposture, which I am sorry I can't meet with. Not to mention later Writers of less Name, who have pass'd the same

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Censure upon it: So that you see I am not singular in my Opinion.

TO all the excellent Qualifications of the Christian Soldiers, you had forgot to give the finishing stroke by adding one Circumstance, that they held fighting unlawful; which I shall take for granted, till you disprove my Arguments by better Authorities than the *Apostolical Constitutions*, which are Forgeries, and CLEMENS and ST. BASIL, who turn upon you. To which I shall add an Inscription in the *Roma Subterr.* which has escap'd you, of a Christian Soldier martyr'd under ADRIAN. But CUPERUS has long ago pass'd a just Censure on this Inscription; and the Cheat is so obvious, that Mr. DODWELL thought it below him to take notice of it in his Remarks on the Martyrs of that Reign. The *Priests* find their account in forging such Inscriptions, to raise the market of their *Reliques*: And Bishop BURNET's Discourse on the *Catacombs* will give light to this Observation. If you think I have mistaken, or misrepresented the sense of the primitive Fathers in this Article, I desire you, since you
are

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are so apt to press me with the Authority of great Names, to consult Bishop FELL's Notes on the larger Epistle of CLEMENS to the *Corinthians*; where you'll find all I have said on this Subject, confirm'd by that learned Prelate. And to show you that I am not singular in my opinion of these *Tests*, the same Bishop, in his Notes on the Passion of MAXIMILIAN, (who suffer'd Martyrdom under DIOCLESIAN, long before the Persecution broke out, for refusing to serve in the Army) has this remarkable Expression, (*p. 43.*) *Militiam videtur detrectasse ob sacramentum militare nomine falsorum numinum aut Imperatorum conceptum, aut adoranda signa.* Dr. CAVE (*Primitive Christianity* *) says, the Christians sometimes declin'd serving in the Army, because there were commonly such Conditions requir'd of them as were inconsistent with Christianity. These are his Words as near as I can remember, for I han't the Book by me; and never read it, no more than I had Bishop FELL's Remarks, before I had written my first Discourse.

* Part I. c. 3. p. 53. 4th Edit.

I SAID, *the foot you put your Argument upon was begging the question, &c.* To this you reply, that you only took what I granted, *that there were Christians in the Army of SEVERUS.* But to have made this Answer of any weight, you shou'd have prov'd that I own the Consequence you had drawn from it, or that the Consequence was necessary, *viz.* That any of the Christian Soldiers in SEVERUS's Army, at the date of TERTULLIAN's Book *de Coron.* which you say (in your *Answer*) *was above thirty Years after the Affair in debate,* (that is, the Miracle) were present in ANTONINUS's Army, at the time of the Miracle. But this Consequence is so far from being necessary, that 'tis not so much as probable; for every body knows that the Soldiers, after twenty Years Service, had the Privilege of being discharg'd, as they commonly were, with a noble Reward; and consequently were not likely to stay in the Army so many Years after their full term was expir'd, (*Suidas in Breviario, Dio p. 606.*) So that my Charge of begging the question, is rather strengthen'd by your *Defence.*

SINCE

SINCE you refuse to acquiesce in the fair and easy Solution I had given of this pretended Contradiction, I'll try once more to convince you, by laying down the whole Proposition, if possible, in plainer Terms. The Christian Soldiers comply'd with some idolatrous Tests, which they did not believe idolatrous; but refus'd to offer Sacrifice, which they knew to be idolatrous. The Papists are every day guilty of Idolatry in worshipping the Host, tho they don't think it so; but not a man of them wou'd worship an *Indian Pagod*, which he knows to be Idolatry. So that there is no manner of Contradiction in this Proposition, unless you'll suppose the most absurd thing in nature, that a man who might commit a Sin of Ignorance, wou'd of course be guilty of a Sin of Presumption.

A R T I C L E II.

I CAN say nothing to your Objection from SALMASIUS, because I have not his large Notes on the *Hist. Augustæ Script.* but only an Abridgment of them

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by SCHREVELIUS, in which no notice is taken of this Legion. I have us'd MELITENE and MELITINE promiscuously, because the Antients had done so before me ; tho I think the first Reading the best, because it has the Authority of PLINY, STRABO, TACITUS, and all the old Writers, I think, except JOSEPHUS. MARCELLINUS, and the *Historia Miscell.* use the last Reading, tho JUSTINIAN and the *Notitia* prefer the first. But 'tis plain by their Descriptions of it, that they all mean the same Place, viz. a little Region in *Asia*, on the *Euphrates*, that had, at least as early as TRAJAN, a City of the same name. The old Geographers place it in *Cappadocia*, but most part of the later in *Armenia minor* ; because, at different times, it was annex'd to these different Provinces, and *Armenia minor* it self was comprehended under *Cappadocia* in the largest sense of the Word. This little difference has, however, given a handle to some unskilful Geographers, to make two MELITENES in those Parts.

I HAD trac'd the *Legio 12^{ma} Fulmin.* down to the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and fix'd

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fix'd it in *Cappadocia* on probable Conjectures; for which I have now a positive Proof from JOSEPHUS (*de bello Jud.* vii. 19. p. 971.) who says, 'twas remov'd by TITUS from its old quarters in *Syria*, to *Melitine* on the Borders of *Cappadocia* and *Armenia*. There DIO places it in his time, and the *Notitia*, and PROCOPIUS long after give it the same Quarters: And I do intirely agree with you that its Quarters were fix'd there for several Ages, and we never hear of it any where else. In like manner the *Legio xv. Apollin.* posted by VESPASIAN in the same Province, was quarter'd there in DIO's time, and when the *Itinerary* of ANTONINUS was written, (p. 11.) and as low as the *Notitia*.

I AGREE with you, as I own'd in my *Defence*, that the *Asiatick* Legions were employ'd in *Asia*; and your Conjecture, that they were recruited in the Countries they were posted in, and the adjacent Provinces, is as certain from TACITUS, (*Ann.* xiii. c. 7, 35.) and consequently in few Years they must be all compos'd of *Asiaticks*. The standing Force of

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Asia, under TIBERIUS, consisted of four Legions, all quarter'd in *Syria*, (*Tacit. Ann. iv. 5.*) To which VESPASIAN added two Legions posted in *Cappadocia*, (*Suet. in Vespas. c. 8.*) So that the Legions of *Asia* were but six in number, all quarter'd on the *Parthian* Frontiers; which is very consistent with what I said in my *Defence*, that *Asia* was not the Nursery of the *Roman* Legions, since not the sixth part of them were rais'd or recruited there. We are both well agreed that the *Melitenian* Legion of EUSEBIUS is the 12^{ma} *Fulmin.* And from all these Premises, I do infer that this Legion was not present at the Miracle.

IN the first place I have prov'd it an *Asiatick* Legion, and that 'twas constantly quarter'd at *Melitene* for above three hundred Years, and never heard of any where else. In the next place, tho it was very usual in the *Parthian* Wars to remove the Western Legions into *Asia*, and all ANTONINUS's Victories over the *Parthians* were won by his *European* Troops, as appears from his own Speech, (*Dio p. 812.*) yet I don't remember one Example in
those

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those times of the Eastern Legions being brought to serve in the Wars with the Northern Nations. Such effeminate Troops might be fit enough to encounter the *Parthians* on their own Dunghil, who at a close Fight, or in a mountainous Country, were no greater Heroes than themselves, (*Lucan. viii. 370, &c.*) but were never thought a match for the *German Arms* and Bravery, as appears from the Character given them by *SEVERUS* and *ANTONINUS*, which I have produc'd in my *Defence*, and from a Letter of that last Prince, (*Vulcatius in Cassio, c. 5.*) and from *TACITUS*, (*Ann. xiii. 35.*) This was the constant Reputation of the *Syrians* in all times. *LIVY* (*xxxvi. 17.*) styles the *Asiatick Greeks*, and the *Syrians* in particular, *genera hominum servituti nata*, which is confirm'd by *CICERO*, (*de Prov. Consul. c. 5.*) Nor was the Courage of their Neighbours the *Cappadocians*, where the two other Legions were quarter'd, in higher esteem. To pass over the Proverb of the *τεία νάστω νάυστα*, and that their Country only pass'd among the *Romans* for a Nursery of Slaves and Knights of the Post, (*Hor. Ep. vi. v. 39. Juv. vii. 15. Persius*

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sius vi. 77. & *ibid. Schol. Martial* x. 76. vi. 77. *Cic. post redit. in Sena. c. 6.*) There needs but one Instance to give you a taste of their Prowess and great Hearts, that they are the only People on record (except the ungrateful *Israelites*, who were sharply reprov'd for their Folly by their good old Prophet) that when Liberty was offer'd them, imbrac'd Slavery, not out of conscience, but out of choice, (*Strabo* xii. p. 540. *Justin* xxxiii. 2.) The *Thundering Legion* in particular, instead of being famous for doing Wonders with their Swords, seems as well qualify'd for the Practice of *Non-Resistance* as the *Theban*. Under NERO they made a shameful Submission to the *Parthians*, (*Tacit. Ann.* xv. 14.) and if we may believe SUE-
TONIUS, (*in Nerone, c. 39.*) were dismiss'd with Ignominy under the Gallows; and for their Cowardise, in the beginning of the *Judean War*, were remov'd from *Syria* to *Melitene*, (*Joseph. p. 971.*) And is it likely that ANTONINUS wou'd venture the Fortune of the Empire in the hands of such wretched Troops, against the most fierce and fearless People in the World? Nor, had these Legions been ever so brave,
cou'd

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cou'd they have been drawn out of *Asia* at that Juncture, without exposing the whole *East* to manifest Danger. For in the beginning of the *Marcomannick* War, the *Arabians* were in Arms against the *Romans*, (*Vulcat. in Cassio c. 6. Marcellinus xiv. 4.*) *Egypt* was in open Rebellion, (*Capitol. in Antonino, c. 21.*) and a new War with *Parthia* was on the point of breaking out, (*c. 22.*) And the Emperor was so far from calling Troops from that quarter, that he reinforc'd the ordinary Guard of *Asia*, by posting some Legions in *Bithynia*, (*Capitol. in Albino c. 6.*) tho at other times *Bithynia* was a *Proconsular*, not an Imperial Province, and consequently had no Army to defend it, (*Dio p. 505. Strabo p. 840.*) Nor has the Author of the forg'd Edict of ANTONINUS, reckon'd this among the other Legions which were present at the Miracle, tho he has nam'd them all. And I have a strong Suspicion from the fragment you tell me of GREGORY NYSSEN, that he lays the Scene of this Miracle not in *Pannonia*, as every body else does, but in that Province where he says the Legion was quarter'd,

ter'd, which, I think, you wrote me was in *Cappadocia*.

ALL these Arguments I have added *ex abundanti*; for I have sufficiently demonstrated in my *Defence*, (*Art. 1. § 8.*) from ANTONINUS's own Speech, that there were no *Asiatick* Legions in his Army, at the time of this Miracle, and consequently that this Legion was not present at it. And if this be true, what becomes of the Credit, not only of this Article, but of the whole Miracle? The Mistake of EUSEBIUS is easily accounted for: He had heard that a Legion was firnam'd from this Victory; and finding no other *Thundering Legion* on the List but that quarter'd at *Melitene*, he gave it the honour of the Miracle, as well he might, without farther Examination; tho, to do him justice, he believ'd nothing of the matter. And I make no doubt that this Miracle was so far from giving the name to the Legion, that the name of the Legion gave a rise to this Circumstance of the Miracle. After this, I need not take notice of your Conjecture, that the same Legion was christen'd twice by the
same

same name. I presume you don't lay such stress upon it as to think it requires any Answer. How much more candid had it been to give up a Point never to be maintain'd, than to defend it by such chimerical Guesses?

N. 2. YOU agree with me in supposing that EUSEBIUS mistook in his Quotation of APOLLINARIS; that is, as I understand you, that he has cited him by mistake, instead of the Author from whom he took this Relation, which is all I contend for.

BUT what if I can prove, after all, from TERTULLIAN himself, that there were no Christians at that time in the *Asiatick* Legions? nothing is more easy. In his Discourse address'd to SCAPULA, (c. 2.) in order to vindicate the Loyalty of the Christians, he has this remarkable Expression, — *tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani*. CASSIUS, every body knows, rebell'd the Year after the date of this Miracle, and was Master of *Syria*, with its four Legions. This shows there

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were no Christians in those Legions; for if there were any there, they either continu'd in the Service, or quitted it on the revolt of CASSIUS: If the first be true, how cou'd TERTULLIAN acquit them of the charge of *Rebellion*, and what becomes of their Passive Obedience? And the last can never be true, for 'twas impossible for TERTULLIAN to omit a Circumstance so glorious to the Christians, and so full a Vindication of their Loyalty. Now if there were no Christians in the Legions of *Syria*, (where you make them so numerous, and where I believe they were as numerous as in any part of the Empire, except *Rome* and *Africa*) this cou'd never be the effect of Chance, but of Principle. And the same Principle wou'd have hindred them from listing in the *Cappadocian* Legions. This Argument may be carry'd further: for if there were no Christians in the Army of NIGER, who was Master of all the *Asiatick* and *Egyptian* Legions, nor in the Army of ALBINUS, who was Master of all the Legions of *Britain*, (both which put together made up more than a third part of the standing Legions of the Empire) 'tis a jest,

jest, for the Reasons already alledg'd, to suppose there were any in the other Legions. And this confirms my Hypothesis, that there were no Christians in the Army, till the end of the second Century, at which time ALBINUS lost his Life and Empire, *viz.* A. C. 198.

A R T I C L E III.

Ad § I. **T**HAT the Heathens thought and spoke ill of the Christian Religion, no body doubts. Wou'd you have had them, while they were Heathens, praise it in the Style of ANTONINUS's mock Epistle, and prefer it to their own? 'Tis enough for my purpose, that they did justice to their moral Virtues. Is not that a good Argument that they treated them with less Passion and Bigotry than you suppose? Cou'd more be expected from a fair Adversary? LUCIAN, in his *Pseudomantis*, describes the Christians as mortally hating and hated by the Impostor, and joins them thro'out with his beloved *Epicureans* in exposing his Frauds. And had I not reason to say that he seem'd to treat them with Respect?

But

But why is it such a Paradox to quote LUCIAN as an Instance of the Heathens speaking well of the Christians? Has not HUETIUS (*Dem. Evang. p. 42.*) produc'd his Testimony in their favour, even from his *Peregrinus*, the only part of his Works where he directly treats them with contempt, tho at the same time he has given them no ill Character as to their personal Virtues? He has nam'd them only once more in his *Pseudomantis*, where he is far from speaking ill of them; and hints at them only once more in his *Philopseudes*. DIO has nam'd or describ'd the Christians divers times; and the Authors of the *Augustan History* have done the same; and one of them in particular, LAMPRIDIUS, has nam'd Christ and the Christians no less than seven times, and never with the least Reproach. EUNOMIUS was no Heathen, as I thought, but an Heretick; which Mistake, however, had the good fortune to escape you. My Argument from CLAUDIAN lay open enough; but that blot you wou'd not hit, because you had no mind to charge St. AUSTIN and OROSIUS with an imperfect Citation. But how does all this confute my

my Argument? Have I not prov'd that PORPHYRY, to whom I will add CELSUS and HIEROCLES, all three violent Enemies to Christianity, own'd the Christian Miracles? And why, by the same rule, might not DIO, and the other Writers I have nam'd, who were far enough from being *Bigots*, have done them the same Justice? But to this you are pleas'd to give no Answer, much less to what follows: and you are much on the right of it.

N. 2. I AM glad you can't contradict me in this Article, without contradicting your self; but I am much gladder to see that you have no other Arguments to depend on but the *Rescript* of ANTONINUS, which I have prov'd a manifest Forgery; the Apologists of his Reign, which I am sure are all against you; and what is most wonderful of all, the *Acta Martyrum Lugdun.* upon which rock Mr. DODWELL has split before you. I am in so little pain about any Proofs you can bring on that head, that I am content, if you please, to rest the whole Controversy on this single Article.

Ad § 6. BY the Emperor's owning that he receiv'd the Title of *Imperator* from God, I presume you mean that he ascrib'd his Deliverance to Providence; which I never deny'd. But wou'd yon infer from his using *Dei* in the singular number, that he meant God Almighty? Examples without number might be produc'd out of his own Writings, where the word is us'd in the same manner for *Jupiter* or *Providence*.

Ad § 7. TACITUS by the *diversi Ritus*, and *externa Sacra*, means all foreign Religions without distinction; in which number the Christian and *Jewish* must be included, if not chiefly intended; especially the Christian, as appears by the following words, *-aut nulla*; for there was no other Sect, or body of Men, publickly accus'd of *Atheism* by the Heathens. The *Epicureans* were only consider'd by the State as a speculative Sect of *Philosophers*, but ever were reputed of the *National Religion*; because they conform'd, like their Successors the modern *Hobbiſts*, to the publick Worship, and no more was

ex-

expected. This Opinion is confirm'd by a parallel Place of TACITUS, under the same Reign, (*Ann. xiii. c. 32.*) *Gracina — superstitionis externa rea.* By which words HUETIUS, LIPSIUS, and other Criticks understand the Christian Religion to be meant. 'Tis very true that *peregrini ritus*, and *externa sacra*, are us'd as synonymous Terms by the best Writers; but there are, by Mr. DACIER's leave, such particular Circumstances in this Passage of CAPITOLINUS, as determine the Words to such a sense as can never be understood of the Christians. I shall first defend my own Explication, and then examine yours. 'Tis manifest that the religious Ceremonies there spoken of, were us'd not only on the account of the *Marcomannick* War, but of the Plague, as appears from the following Period, and is confirm'd by a parallel Passage at *c. 21.* and from the *Lectisternia* there mention'd; which first began on that occasion, (*Liv. v. 13. vii. 1, 27.*) and were rarely practis'd on any other. The same is evident from the Lustrations or Expiations, which were commonly us'd on these Occasions, as appears from DIONYS. *l. viii. p. 441, 2. Ed. Steph.*

ANTONINUS summon'd Priests from all quarters to *Rome*, by reason of the great number of Sacrifices which were offer'd at that time ; as *CASAUBON* has rightly interpreted it, by the help of a parallel Passage in *MARCELLINUS*, (xxv. 4.) where he makes a comparison between the numerous Sacrifices of *JULIAN* and *ANTONINUS*, on this very occasion of the *Marcomannick* War, as appears from the following words, *αὐτὸν ἐν νικησίῃς*. And 'tis very probable that the Parallel extends not only to the number, but the nature of their Sacrifices. And *JULIAN*, every body knows, was famous for magical Sacrifices, which *MARCELLINUS* seems to allude to in this same place, *Superstitiosus magis quam Sacrorum legitimus observator*. We know from *LAMPRIDIUS*, (*in Heliogab. c. 9.*) that *ANTONINUS*, after his Victory over the *Marcomanni*, made use of magical Incantments to secure the Peace he had made : And I thought it as reasonable to conclude that he imploy'd the same Arts to prevent the War, or facilitate the Victory, which, you know, the Heathen Writers say was won by the help of his *Magicians*. I am confirm'd in this thought
by

by the Example of JULIANUS, who reign'd not long after; and to avert the storm he was threatned with from SEVERUS, offer'd magical Sacrifices, *Non convenientes Romanis sacris hostias*, (*Spartian in Juliano, c. 7.*) which is a good Comment on the *ritus peregrini* of CAPITOLINUS. This Opinion is render'd probable by the example of his Grandfather ADRIAN, (*Dio p. 797.*) VALERIAN, (*Euseb. vii. 9.*) MAXENTIUS, (*Hist. Miscell. xi. 6.*) JULIAN the Apostate, (*Hist. Miscell. xi. 43.*) and many other Emperors; who, upon extraordinary occasions, made no scruple to have recourse to the same Arts. ANTONINUS expiated the City by all kinds of *Lustrations*, in which number magical ones must of necessity be comprehended, if there were any such; which may be very easily prov'd. The earliest Instance of this kind, that I know of, is EPIMENIDES, who freed *Athens* from the Plague, by the help of such Lustrations, (*Laertius in Epimenide, Pausan. lib. i. p. 26.*) Neither of these Writers, indeed, makes EPIMENIDES a Magician. But SOCRATES (iii. 16.) calls him ἀνθετελής, and PLUTARCH (*in Solone p. 154.*)

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faith, he was famous for the *τελεστικὴ σοφία*, which is much the same. And APULEIUS expressly says, that he was reputed a *Magician*, (*Apol. p. 265.*) He wrote a whole Book of these *καθαρμοί*, or *Lustrations*, (*Suidas in Epimenide, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 88.* And CLEMENS ALEXANDR. (*Strom. vi. p. 639.*) says, that by certain Sacrifices he diverted the *Persian* Invasion for several Years. EMPEDOCLES, whom SUIDAS compares with APOLLONIUS, a most notorious *Magician*, and who is call'd a *Magician* by PLINY, (*xxx. i.*) and by LAERTIUS, (*in Empedoc.*) wrote a Poem of these *καθαρμοί*, which Dr. BENTLEY rightly renders *Lustrations of Cities and Countries from Plagues, Prodigies, &c.* And his Explication is confirm'd by APULEIUS, (*Apol. ibid.*) who says, that Book got him the Reputation of a *Magician*. And that he was so, is evident from some Fragments of his Poems preserv'd by LAERTIUS, in his Life, and by CLEMENS, (*Strom. vi. 630.*) and from the Character that Father gave of him. CELSUS (*p. 301.*) says, there were such *Lustrations* for the cure of Diseases, and pretends they were practis'd by the Christians ;

tians ; which silly Calumny is confuted by ORIGEN. CLEMENS has given us the form of one of these Lustrations against the Plague, (*Strom.* v. 570.) When APOLLONIUS was accus'd before DOMITIAN, for stopping the Plague at *Ephesus* by magical Arts, he justify'd himself by the Example of many other great Men of Antiquity, (*Philostratus* viii. 2. p. 395.) 'Twou'd be endless to produce Examples of this kind. So that if ANTONINUS expiated the City by all kinds of Lustrations, as CAPITOLINUS expressly says he did, he must of necessity make use of magical ones among the rest.

THAT ANTONINUS had recourse to magical Charms and Spells, on this occasion, is highly probable from ALEXANDER's Oracle, which was spread thro' all parts of the Empire, and fix'd over their Doors as a Charm against the Plague ; which cou'd never have been done so universally without the Consent or Encouragement of the Government. Nor will this seem strange to any man who considers what Respect ANTONINUS paid this Impostor, as appears not only in the In-

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stance I have given in my *Defence* of this Article, but in another which is yet more extraordinary. He had the Impudence to ask ANTONINUS to change the name of *Aboniteichos* into *Jonopolis*: And tho LUCIAN does not tell us the Success of this Petition, yet we are sure 'twas granted, as appears from a Medal struck under ANTONINUS, which gives the City the name of *Jonopolis*, and which it retain'd many hundred Years after, as low as JUSTINIAN, *Spanhem. de usu Numism. p. 214.*

I SHALL now examine the sense you have given this Passage. As to your conjecture about the *Sacerdotes acciverit*, &c. I refer you to CASAUBON's Explication. But to have made this Argument bear, you shou'd have prov'd that he not only summon'd Priests from all quarters, but Priests of all Religions; which the Words are far enough from implying. I never heard that ANTONINUS ever apply'd himself to the Christian Priesthood on any other occasion but his Daughter LUCILLA's being possess'd by the Devil, which was cast out of her by ABERCIUS Bishop of *Hierapolis*. This Story is attested and believ'd

believ'd by several Writers of great Authority ; and 'tis great pity you miss'd it, since 'tis the only Instance in all Antiquity that can be brought in favour of your Hypothesis. But pray what Rites or Ceremonies of the Christians cou'd ANTONINUS perform on this occasion ? I know of none they had, in the old sense of the Words, but the two Sacraments. Baptism, I hope, you never will allow him, unless you cou'd bring some Father, or Church-Historian for his *God-Father*, that wou'd answer for his Christianity. And 'twou'd be indeed profaning the Ordinance with a vengeance to give the other Sacrament to such an *Occasional Conformist* as ANTONINUS, as you make him. Lustrations of Cities the Christians had none, that I ever heard of ; unless you'll suppose that they sprinkled the City Gates with *Holy-Water*, and march'd about the Streets with the Host in Procession, as the Papists do on the like occasions. But I am in hopes that Popery is not quite so old as the second Century.

*Dii meliora piis, erroremque hostibus
illum.*

Virg. G. 3.

As

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As for other Rites and Ceremonies, in the modern sense of the Word, excepting the Cross, I know of none they had in those times. That Pageantry was reserv'd for Ages that were asham'd of the Simplicity of the Gospel. There remains nothing more, unless he desir'd the Prayers of the Congregation ; but he might have known from ATHENAGORAS (*ad finem*) and other Apologists, that the Emperors never wanted the Prayers of the Church, under the severest Persecutions : and 'tis a jest to suppose that he ask'd their Prayers at *Rome*, while he was burning them at *Smyrna* and other parts of the World ; which shall be my next Argument.

THE Affair in debate was transacted in the beginning of the eighth Year of ANTONINUS, just before his first Expedition against the *Marcomanni*, which was before the middle of that Year. That there was a Persecution against the Christians in the sixth Year of his Reign, we know from ATHENAGORAS, who wrote his *Apology* that Year. POLYCARP and others suffer'd at *Smyrna*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, (*Euseb. Chron.*) And
you

you your self fix the Persecution of *Lyons* to the same Year ; and 'twas so far from being over in the tenth Year of his Reign, that it rag'd with greater Violence than ever, as we know from *MELITO*, who wrote his *Apology* that Year, (*Euseb. Chron.*) The Criticks have, with great probability, fix'd the date of *TATIAN'S Apology* to the eighth Year of *ANTONINUS*, as you may see in the Preface to the *Oxford* Edition ; and that there was then a Persecution on foot, is manifest from *p. 97*. Now 'tis very ridiculous to believe that the Christians were treated with such Respect at *Rome*, while they were us'd with such Severity in other parts of the Empire for their Religion, as I say, for Murder and Incest, as *Mr. DODWELL* says ; which Supposition does not alter the case : For, can any one imagine that the Emperor cou'd entertain any opinion of the Efficacy of their Prayers, whose Religion, as he thought, allow'd them in the Practice of such inhuman and unnatural Crimes ?

BUT what Religion he had recourse to, at this juncture, we may best judge from

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from his Practice on the like occasion. In the tenth year of his Reign, when the Plague and the *Marcomannick* War broke out afresh, *Deorum cultum diligentissime restituit*, says *CAPITOLINUS*, (c. 21.) which may be thus render'd, That he restor'd the publick Worship of the Gods, by persecuting the Christians, who were for destroying it. There are several concurrent Circumstances which render this Sense highly probable. The *Quinquennalia* of *COMMODOUS's Imperium Cæsareum*, were celebrated that Year; and all the World knows that at these Solemnities the *whole-some Severities*, as the modern Phrase is, ran highest against the Christians. And 'tis as certain that all publick Calamities, which were ascrib'd to their Atheism and Impiety, never fail'd to provoke the Rage of the Government against them. Add to this, that *MELITO*, in his *Apology* presented that very Year, complains that the Persecution was carry'd on by virtue of Edicts newly issu'd forth. And if my Memory does not fail me, *BARONIUS* explains this Passage in the same Sense. But allowing it to be understood in the only other sense the Words are capable of bearing,

ing, *viz.* That he reform'd some Neglects and Omissions in the publick Worship of the Gods ; does it not plainly prove that he trusted to his own Gods and his own Religion ? and that the straits the Empire was reduc'd to, instead of inclining him to Christianity, serv'd only to redouble his Zeal for his own Idolatry and Superstition ? To this long Argument I shall only add one Remark, That not one Father, or Church-Historian, says a Syllable of this matter ; and their universal Silence is an unanswerable Argument against you.

Ad § 8. THAT the Winds were drawn with Wings, we all know : But who ever heard that Thunder and Lightning made part of their Equipage ? These Ensigns were peculiar to JUPITER, and two or three others of the *Dii majores*, who had the sole Privilege of thundering, (*Serv. ad Æneid. l. v. 46.*) And the Roman Antiquaries, who have seen Figures enough of this kind in their Medals, and BASSO RELIEVO's, all concurring to make it the Image of JUPITER PLUVIUS, their Authority, as being the best Judges of this matter, ought to be rely'd on. Ju-

PITER

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PITER PLUVIUS is often mention'd by the *Roman* Writers, as you may see in BARONIUS, and is the same with the *Ζεύς ὕετις* of the *Greeks* (*Pausan.* ii. p. 119. *Phurnutus de nat. Deorum*, c. 9.) But allowing your Interpretation to be right, what advantage will you gain by it? The Winds, as well as JUPITER, were all reckon'd Gods by the Antients. They were the Sons of the Goddess AURORA, (*Hesiod. Theog.* v. 378. *Serv. ad Æn.* i. v. 136. *Hygini Fab. Præf.* p. 8.) and BOREAS in particular is styl'd a God by OVID, (*Met.* vi. 683.) and VALERIUS FLACCUS, (i. 577.) The *Delphians*, before the *Persian* Invasion, by the command of their Oracle, built Altars, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Winds; who, in return, help'd to ruin the Fleet of XERXES, (*Clemens Stromat.* vi. p. 630.) BOREAS had Sacrifices offer'd to him by XENOPHON, in his Expedition, (*ἀνέλασις* iv. p. 194. *Ed. Steph.*) had a Temple built to him by the *Athenians*, (*Herodotus* vii. p. 283. *Ed. Steph.*) and was worshipp'd with yearly Sacrifices by the *Thurians*, (*Ælian. Var. Hist.* xii. 61.) and by the *Megalopolitans*, (*Pausan.* viii. 513.) and
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had

the Thundering Legion. 367

had these publick Honours paid him by these several States, in memory of some *signal Deliverances* they had obtain'd in their Wars, by his Assistance. POMP. MELA, (i. 8.) and his Transcriber PLINY, (ii. 45.) make mention of a *Rupes Austro Sacra*. Tempests, which are nothing else but violent Winds, (*Lucentes Ventos, tempestatesq; sonoras, Æn. i. 57.*) were consecrated by the Roman Religion, (*Cic. de nat. Deor. iii. 20.*) and had Temples erected to them, as appears from OVID, (*Fast. vi. 193.*) and from the famous Inscription in GASSENDUS's Life of PEIRESKIUS, (p. 96.) VIRGIL makes ÆNEAS sacrifice to the Winds, (*Æn. iii. 120.*) and to the Tempests, (v. 772.) and AUGUSTUS dedicated a Temple to *Circius*, a Wind peculiar to *Gaul*, (*Senec. Nat. Qu. v. 17.*) and VESPASIAN built a Temple to the Winds at *Antioch*, (*Malela p. 339.*) ORPHEUS hath a Hymn to the *South Wind*. The Winds are call'd *Θεοὶ ἄιδιοι*, (*Diod. Eclog. p. 861.*) TIMOLEON beats the *Carthaginians* by Thunder and Lightning, (*Diod. Sic. p. 470. Plut. in Timol.*) So that allowing your Observation to be right, (which I am far enough from believing)

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lieving) what Service will it do your Cause? 'Tis indifferent to my purpose whether ANTONINUS ascrib'd his Deliverance to his God JUPITER, or to his God AUSTER, as the *Thurians*, *Megalopolitans*, and *Athenians* had done before him to their God BOREAS.

I AM not concern'd to inquire what Allegories the Philosophers discover'd under the Names and Epithets of the Gods; 'tis enough for my purpose that they were all worshipp'd on the popular System, and the Fathers always attack'd the Heathen Religion on this foot, and consequently this Medal, in honour of MERCURY, must be struck on the same Principle. And upon this Supposition, the *Mercurius Aerijs* of DIO (who is the same with that on the Medal) can be no other than the *Mercurius Supernus* of SERVIUS, and *Cælestis* of PLUTARCH, (*de facie in orbe Lunæ*, p. 1737. Ed. Steph.) in opposition to the *Mercurius Infernus*.

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ARTICLE IV. § 11.

ALL my Arguments against WITSIUS, you answer by the help of the grand *Elixir* of the *Rescript*, the universal Remedy you apply to all Difficulties and Objections. But admitting it for once to be genuine, do you think the Argument conclusive, that if an Emperor once publish'd an *Edict* in favour of the Christians, he cou'd never after become a Persecutor? LICINIUS, in the beginning of his Reign, publish'd an *Edict* in their favour, which is still extant; and we don't hear that 'twas ever formally repeal'd. Wou'd you from thence give the lye to all the Church-Historians, who make him a violent Persecutor in few Years after? No Princes were more favourable to the Christians at first, than VALERIAN and DIOCLESIAN, who afterward rais'd the bloodiest Persecutions against them. How can you infer from MELITO, that the Persecution he speaks of was merely popular? Does he not say 'twas rais'd by new *Edicts*? Were *Edicts* made by the Mob, or by the Emperor? And were

not these Edicts publish'd in the tenth Year of his Reign, long after the date of the Rescript? TRAJAN'S Clemency is as much celebrated as ANTONINUS's, and yet we are sure from PLINY, and the Acts of IGNATIUS, that he was a Persecutor. ANTONINUS says he never took away the Life of any man; that is, illegally or unjustly, as he thought: and 'tis ridiculous to understand it in any other Sense. Do you think no Malefactors suffer'd under his Reign? What say you to my Citation out of CAPITOLINUS, which RUINARTIUS understands, and not improbably, of the Christians, in his Preface to the *Acta Martyrum*: in which Place, tho a Papist, he has done good Service to the common Cause of Christianity, in so thorowly confuting Mr. DODWELL's dangerous Hypothesis, *de paucitate Martyrum*. The rest of the Arguments I had urg'd on this head, in my first Discourse, and in my *Defence*, you pass over in silence.

Ad § 12. MY Argument from this Passage of ANTONINUS, was urg'd not as a demonstrative, but as a probable one.

I am still of the same Opinion, for the Reasons there alledg'd; and you see I am not singular,

SIMPLE Obstinacy is Obstinacy without Reason; that is, brutal. *παρρησια* signifies a good deal more than the Barrenness of our Language will express in one Word. It imports, as HUETIUS has very happily explain'd it, (*Dem. Evang. p. 41.*) that the Christians did not suffer with a manly rational Courage, but with the brutal Bravery of Soldiers or Gladiators, sacrificing their Lives without Fear or Wit. And if ANTONINUS thought they suffer'd upon no other Principle, he had reason to think them Mad-men and Enthusiasts. But the Christians he speaks of, *must*, you say, *be Hereticks, who press'd forward to Martyrdom.* What Hereticks? the *Gnosticks*? They were so far from courting the Crown of Martyrdom, that 'twas their Principle not to suffer at all. What other Hereticks were there at that time? The *Montanists*, who were the boldest Sufferers of all the Hereticks, and boasted most of their Martyrs, and the *Encratitæ*, did not arise till after

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the middle of that Reign. How came ANTONINUS so well acquainted with their Character, when they were scarce known to the Christians of that time, and IRENÆUS who wrote under COMMODUS has but just touch'd upon the first of them? What Proofs cou'd they give of their Obstinacy who were but just risen up, and under a Reign where you deny any formal Persecution? The other Heresies, that made any noise in the World, were all in a manner *Gnosticism*, parcell'd out into several little Sects and Subdivisions, all agreeing in the loose Principle of complying in time of Persecutions. *Martyriorum refragatores*, says TERTULIAN, (*Scorpiakon*, c. 1.) JUSTIN MARTYR makes it one of the distinguishing Characters of the Hereticks of his Age, the *Gnosticks*, *Marcionites*, &c. that they were so far from suffering Martyrdom, that they never were persecuted for their Religion, (*Apol.* 2. p. 70.) and the Reason is very plain from his Dialogue with TRYPHON, (p. 253. *Ed. Colon.*) where he tells us they made no scruple to eat the *Idolothyta*, &c. So that this Passage
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of ANTONINUS can never relate to the Hereticks.

BUT why must this Character of voluntary Martyrdom be confin'd only to the Hereticks in the second Century? Were there no Volunteers at that time among the Orthodox Christians? 'Twas the general Character of the Christian Martyrs under the ANTONINI, as you may see in LUCIAN's *Peregrinus*, p. 567. Under TRAJAN all the Christians in a City of *Asia* came in a body to the Proconsul ARRIUS ANTONINUS, and offer'd themselves to the Slaughter. Were they Orthodox or Hereticks? There are many Examples of this kind under the Reign of ANTONINUS, as you may see in the Acts of POLYCARP, and several others in JUSTIN MARTYR, (*Apol. I. p. 43.*) and another among the Martyrs of *Lyons*. And there is good reason to infer from the Acts of IGNATIUS, and his Epistle to the *Romans*, that he himself, the most celebrated Martyr since the Days of the Apostles, was a Volunteer. And these Christians, instead of being branded as Hereticks, were cry'd up for Heroes. Can

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you produce me as many Instances of Hereticks who suffer'd voluntary Martyrdom before the Reign of ANTONINUS? Can you produce one Instance? The Author indeed of the Acts of POLYCARP, does not commend the Practice, but is far enough from calling it heretical. Under the third Century this intemperate Zeal for Martyrdom began to abate; and CLEMENS (*Strom. iv. p. 481.*) condemns the Practice in the Orthodox Christians, unless they were lawfully call'd to it, and makes it a Character peculiar to a Sect of Hereticks whom he does not name; but by the Description he has given us of them, there is no doubt but he means the *Marcionites*, who were far enough from professing or practising that Principle under ANTONINUS, as I have sufficiently shown from JUSTIN MARTYR; and consequently that Instance can do you no manner of Service.

BUT to set this whole matter on a right bottom, I will translate the Words of ANTONINUS without any Paraphrase, viz. *That our Readiness or Willingness to die, ought to be founded on a Principle*
of

of Judgment and good Sense, and not on the simple Obstinacy of the Christians. Have you the least handle to infer from these Words, that ANTONINUS speaks rather of voluntary Martyrs, than of any other Christian who had the Courage to suffer for his Religion when he was call'd to it? tho I make no doubt but he had both in his eye, and that the Reproach is levell'd at all Christian Martyrs without distinction. Does not HUETIUS, and every body else, understand it in the same sense? But give me leave to ask you how this Character of Heretick is consistent with what you said at *Article I. § 5.* that they had *fairer quarter than the true Christians?* How cou'd they distinguish themselves by their Obstinacy in suffering, who, upon your Supposition, were in so little danger of Persecution? And why the charge of Obstinacy, in this single Instance of ANTONINUS, shou'd be apply'd to the Hereticks, when in the only Instance you have produc'd beside, and in many others of the same kind which I cou'd produce, 'tis manifestly meant of the Orthodox, I am at a loss to apprehend. I have now set this remarkable

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Passage of ANTONINUS in a true light ; and reconcile it, if you can, with the Rescript you are so fond of, or the Edict after the Miracle, *Es eris mihi magnus Apollo*. LUCIAN's steddiness to Principles, is very different from the *παρρησις* of ANTONINUS. In LUCIAN the Christians suffer'd in hope of Immortality, and consequently acted rationally and consistently with their Principles, tho he thought it a mistaken one. ANTONINUS makes their Sufferings the effect of a stubborn positive Stiffness, without any reasonable Motive to influence them. Where have I reckon'd the *inflexibilis obstinatio* of PLINY, as part of his just and noble Character of the Christians ?

ARTICLE VI.

§ 1. **Y**OU may remember that in the beginning of my first Discourse on this Subject, I undertook to examine the Miracle, with all its several Circumstances, as 'twas stated by EUSEBIUS ; and since you had not contradicted it, I took it for granted that you join'd issue with me on that foot. Nor cou'd I ever
 imagine

imagine that you wou'd lay aside the Authority of all the Christian Historians, and appeal to the Heathens : But I am content to agree with you, to have this Miracle try'd by your own Test, the Authority of Dio, provided you'll allow all the other parts of his Relation. But why you shou'd single out one Circumstance of the Story to believe, tho in its own nature so very romantick, and not warranted by any one Writer, either Heathen or Christian, and reject his Authority where he has all the Writers of his own Party, and the Authority of two publick Monuments for his Vouchers, is a Paradox never to be reconcil'd to the Rules of fair Reasoning. If I call'd him a candid and impartial Writer, I meant no more than the very Words, and the whole tenour of my Argument import ; that he was no Party-Writer, but had behav'd himself like a fair Adversary in the Controversy between the Heathens and the Christians. But wou'd you from thence infer, that I allow him the Character of Judgment and Integrity, in all his other Relations ; and that I thought him the best Guide in the Dispute to what Religion the Miracle was ascrib'd

ascrib'd by the Heathens, because he was back'd by the Pillar and the Medal? So far from it, that I think him in the main a very credulous and superstitious Writer, as appears in the whole course of his History. He tells you himself that he had written a whole Book of Dreams and Prodigies, *p.* 828. He began his History upon the strength of one Dream, (*ib.*) and concludes it with another. He relates more of them upon all occasions, and lays greater stress upon them than any Historian I know of, except Archbishop LAUD in his *Diary*. And I can't help rejecting his Authority, in the miraculous part of the Story, because he stands single in it against the consent of all the Heathen and Christian Writers, and even the Pillar itself, which is an unanswerable Argument against him: For who can believe that so signal a Circumstance as Soldiers burning in the midst of Rain, wou'd have been omitted in a publick Monument, set up on purpose to perpetuate, with the other Victories of ANTONINUS, the memory of this Deliverance?

BUT

BUT how, after all, are you sure that the Circumstances you lay such stress on, exceeded all the Powers of natural Causes? There are but two of them which have the least Pretence to pass for supernatural, *viz.* That the *Quadi* only suffer'd by the Storm; and that the Fire was not extinguish'd by the Rain. The first Circumstance is common to all the parallel Instances I have produc'd: For how cou'd one Army conquer by the help of the Storm, and the other be ruin'd by it, if both Armies had felt its Fury without distinction? For this you may consult PAUSANIAS, (x. 653.) and LIVY, (xl. 58.) in his Relation of the Lightning that fell on the *Bastarnæ*, in their Battel with the *Tbracians*; *Fulmina etiam sic undique micabant, ut peti viderentur corpora*,—as if the Lightning had been pointed at them. And how many Examples have we every day of single men struck dead with Thunder, in the midst of a Croud, and all the by-standers escape unhurt? The second Circumstance, tho it be not express'd, is plainly imply'd in the Instance I brought of the Defeat of the *Gauls* at *Delphi*, as
you

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you may see by comparing PAUSANIAS (p. 653.) with LIVY (xl. 58.) He there describes the wonderful Storm which ruin'd the Army of the *Bastarnæ*, and compares it with the Storm at *Delphi*, (*Quali tempestate Gallos, spoliantes Delphos, fama est peremptos esse, talis tum Bastarnas—oppressit*) which Words manifestly import, that both these Tempests were exactly alike, and consequently that every Circumstance of the first was common to the last. Now PAUSANIAS tells us, that the Lightning burnt up the *Gauls*, Arms and all, notwithstanding the violent Shower of Rain and Hail that fell at the same time, according to LIVY, JUSTIN, and the Scholiast on CALLIMACHUS. And how cou'd the *Gauls*, with their Armour, have been burnt up, if the Flame had been extinguish'd by the Rain? And is not this wonderful Circumstance common to both Relations? For my part, tho as I told you before, I am persuaded, for Reasons which will not easily be answer'd, that this Particular in DIO's Relation, is only a rhetorical Exaggeration; yet allowing the Fact to be true, there are not wanting plausible Reasons to prove it
might

might have been perform'd by natural Causes, if you'll give the same Credit to the Testimony of the Heathen Writers on other occasions, as you have done on this.

TACITUS tells us of a light Vapour kindled on the Surface of the Earth, (not an Eruption from its Bowels) which must have the same material Cause with Lightning, that cou'd not be quench'd by Rain, or any other Water, (*Ann.* xiii. 57.) And how many Examples have we of natural Fires burning in the midst of Water, and increas'd by it, from *PLINY* (ii. 104, 106.) *ARISTOTLE*, (*de mirand. Histor.* p. 1153.) *CALLIMACHUS*, (*frag. apud Bentleium*, p. 335.) But your own Author, *DIO*, p. 174. gives us the most notable Instance of this kind. 'Tis of a Fire burning in the River *Anas*, and increas'd by Rain; to which he adds several other ridiculous and incredible Circumstances, which betray the great Credulity and Superstition of the Writer. All these Instances I have produc'd, not as parallel *Miracles*, but as parallel *Lyes*; which prove thus much at least, that the Authority of *DIO* deserves

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very little Credit on this head, when so many other Writers of far greater Weight and Reputation have ly'd before him upon the same occasion. I shall pass over an Observation of SEN ECA, (*Nat. Quæst. ii. 26.*) which is of greater moment, *Ubi valentior ignis (fulminum) quam humor est, vincit* ; which he illustrates by several other parallel Appearances of Nature ; the truth of which we have seen confirm'd in our own Days. But the Instance I chiefly depend on, is a very extraordinary one, full to the purpose, which fell out in the compass of our own Memories, attested beyond all Contradiction, and first publish'd by Dr. PLOT, in the *Philosoph. Transact.* N^o clvii. p. 520. 'Tis a relation of a Clap of Thunder, which broke on an *English* Ship in *America*, and brought some sulphureous matter along with it, which burnt in the Stern of the Ship, and cou'd not be quench'd by Water or any thing else, till the matter it self was spent. And why might not DIO's Lightning produce the same Effects ? At the same time there happen'd another Accident yet more extraordinary, which wou'd have appear'd incredible, if it had not
been

been confirm'd by another Instance of the same kind, (*Philosopb. Transact.* N^o cxxvii. p. 648.) that the Lightning chang'd the *Poles* of all the *Compasses* in the Ship, and gave a new *Direction* to the Needle; which shows that every uncommon Effect of Lightning must not pass for miraculous. I have muster'd up these plausible Reasons, tho I wou'd not be thought to rest the stress of the Argument upon them, to let you see that 'twas not wholly impossible for this extraordinary Event to have been perform'd by natural Causes.

BUT to set this matter in a true light, give me leave to examine the several parts of the Miracle at *Delphi*, and to lay them parallel with *Dio's*: and then let's try which is the greatest Miracle of the two, and which is best attested. The *Delphick* Miracle has the fate of yours, to be told with different Circumstances by most of the Authors who relate it: tho all, who treat expressly of it, agree in making it a Miracle. The earliest Writer I know of that mentions it, is *CALLIMACHUS*, (*Hymn. in Delum.* v. 171, &c.) who flourish'd when it happen'd. To
which

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which I may add his Scholiast, with *TROGUS, (xxiv. 8. xxxii. 3.) CICERO, (*de Divinat.* i. 37.) LIVY, (xl. 58.) PROPERTIUS, (iii. 13. v. 53.) and PAUSANIAS, (x. 652, 3.) POLYBIUS, who was far enough from being a superstitious Writer, reckons this Deliverance of Greece from the Invasion of the Gauls, to have been very extraordinary: τὸ παρὰδοξον τῶν τότε γινόμενων, (ii. p. 171.) tho he mentions none of the Particulars, because he only touch'd upon it *en passant*, as ATHENÆUS has done, (*lib.* vi. p. 234.) I hope you'll allow these Authorities to be very good. I shall say nothing of those Circumstances of the Story, which, as I observ'd before, are common to both Miracles; but proceed to the others as they are set down by PAUSANIAS. That the Ground (only) on which the Army of the Gauls was drawn up, was shook with dreadful Earthquakes; the Apparition of the Heroes of *Delphi*; Rocks torn from the top of the Mountain, and overwhelming whole Squadrons, as if they had been levell'd at them; the Panick Terror and

* Justin.

Madness that seiz'd them in their Retreat ;
their fancying themselves attack'd by an
Army of *Greeks*, not knowing their
Language and Ensigns, and murdering one
another for Enemies : and, to crown all,
that of this mighty Army, not one single
man escap'd the Vengeance of *APOLLO*.
These Circumstances, all put together, are
far more extraordinary than yours, and
most of them better attested than the mi-
raculous part of your Story, which rests
on the single Authority of *DIO* ; and con-
sequently ought to pass for miraculous as
well as yours. If you deny the Facts,
by the same parity of Reason I may deny
yours : If you allow them, they must be
either the Effects of natural Causes, or
supernatural. If you own the first, you
give up the point in debate : if you grant
the last, I shall turn your own *Dilemma*
upon you, that they were wrought by
our God or theirs ; that is, the Devil.
Certainly you can never believe that God
Almighty wou'd work a Miracle to pre-
serve the Oracle of *Delphi*, the Center
of the Pagan Idolatry, and the head Quar-
ters of Heathenism. If 'twas wrought by
the Devil, (which, by Bishop *FLEET-*

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wood's leave, is a very dangerous Supposition, and strikes at the root of reveal'd Religion) why might not your Miracle be wrought in the same manner, since 'tis plain it cou'd serve no other ends but the Interests of Paganism, as I shall show in the following Section? I have now bolted this matter to the Bran: and do you think that an indifferent *Critick*, upon a fair comparison of these two Miracles, wou'd not pass this impartial Judgment, that the Substance of the Story is true, and the extraordinary Circumstances are false, in both of them?

YOU have taken a great deal of pains to prove what I never deny'd, that the Empire labour'd under great Difficulties in the Reign of ANTONINUS; tho I am far from thinking them so very pressing, as not to be retriev'd by the common Methods of Providence, without the help of a Miracle. But admitting the Affairs of the Empire to be in as desperate a Condition as you represent them, do you think that a sufficient Reason for God Almighty to work a Miracle? They were in a far worse case under GALLIENUS,

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a known Patron of the Christians, and under HONORIUS, when the Emperor and Empire were Christian: And yet we never heard that God Almighty, at either of these Junctures, thought fit to work a Miracle for their Deliverance. What you add of the Piety of ANTONINUS, that is, his Zeal for his own Idolatry, is a very indifferent Reason; and your Supposition of the Christian Soldiers, is what I deny, and you'll never be able to prove. Now, Sir, in return, give me leave to state the Fact on my Hypothesis, and then let's try whether there was such a *dignus vindice nodus*, *The ways of God are unsearchable, and his paths past finding out*: but one may venture, without rashness, to affirm, that 'twas inconsistent with infinite Wisdom to work a Miracle for the rescue of an Army of Idolaters, commanded by a persecuting Prince; which serv'd only to rivet him the faster in his own Superstition, and was so far from making one Convert, or doing the least service to our Religion, that the Heathens, on the strength of this Deliverance, rais'd Trophies against Christianity, struck Medals, and erected Monuments in honour of their

false Gods, to whom they universally ascribed it. If I believ'd this to be a Miracle, and that the Devil was capable of working a real one, I shou'd be apt to conclude, from the only Ends it answer'd, that 'twas wrought, as all the Heathen Historians affirm, by the Charms of the Magicians.

THERE is no manner of parallel between this Miracle and that under JULIAN. In this last case, the Veracity of God Almighty was concern'd, in order to the Accomplishment of the Prophecies, to interpose in so extraordinary a manner. This Reason the Church-Historians have given for it, (*Rufin. i. 37. Sozom. v. 22.*) and St. CYRIL, on the assurance of these Prophecies, was very confident that this chimerical Project of the *Jews* cou'd never take effect. This Miracle, you say, was wrought to convince JULIAN, &c. that Christ was a true Prophet. Did it convince him? Does not THEODORET tell us, that the Miracle, tho he knew of it, made no Impression on him? (*iii. 20.*) Did not God Almighty foresee this? And can you imagine that he wou'd work a Miracle to answer an End which he was sure

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sure wou'd not be answer'd by it? Wou'd not this be working a Miracle in vain? The same Argument may be urg'd with equal strength against the Miracle of ANTONINUS, and the Reasons you have assign'd for it. I wonder to hear you say, that JULIAN's Miracle made no Converts to Christianity, when SOZOMON assures us it made several, (v. 22.)

I DENY'D there were any *Asiatick* Legions in the Army of ANTONINUS, but never said there were no *Asiatics* in it. Nor does the Passage of CAPITOLINUS, to which you refer, prove it; unless you suppose *Diocritæ* to be the name of a People, or that the *Dardania* there mention'd lay in *Asia*: which will be Discoveries the Geographers will thank you for.

THE Christians, you say, might come into the Army at the same time; but for this you bring no other Argument than the Logick of Possibility, which will prove every thing true that does not imply a Contradiction. Our Armies were never so numerous as they now are, and to re-

cruit them we have been forc'd to have recourse to Methods unknown under former Reigns : but we never heard that the Parliament thought of making a Law to press Quakers into the Service, whose Principles are against all Fighting.

I MIGHT go on to set you right in some Mistakes you have made about my Opinion and Character of the Fathers; but since you have deny'd the Consequences I thought you had drawn from it, I am in no great pain about the Premises.

I DON'T know what to say to the Judgment you have pass'd on this whole Controversy, because I don't well understand you : For what Chaff can I have winnow'd, when I don't find that you have yielded one of the Articles in dispute ? And what Seed of Truth can remain, when I am fully persuaded that you your self don't think you have disprov'd one of them ?



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